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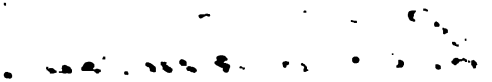

London.

MISCELLANIES.

BY

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TALES.

LIESE; OR, THE PROGRESS OF WORSHIP.

On a mountain steep, near the sources of the Maine, stood a convent whose vesper bell had echoed from summit to summit for four hundred years. The old men in the dwellings of the valley below delivered to the little ones about their knees, the traditions they had received from their grandfathers respecting the original consecration of the chapel of this convent, and the arrival of the relics which crowned its sanctity. The Reformation having begun, the time was now at hand when the glory of the place must pass away. The magistracy of Nuremberg, having abolished the mass, and broken up all monastic associations in their city, extended their decrees through all the districts around. Unwelcome messengers had appeared at the gates of every convent to announce the day when its inmates must depart, and its possessions be given into the the hand of the civil power. By this summons the quiet of every monastic abode was instantaneously broken up. The superiors, inwardly mourning over the necessity which they must obey, strove in vain to preserve their authority during the few days which yet remained. The spiritual fathers observed no bounds in their revilings of

the heretic by whose infernal agency the half of the world had been drawn over from Christ to Satan, and the rulers of the earth become empowered to scatter abroad the defenceless sheep who had till now been guarded by shepherds so faithful as themselves. Among the flocks thus mourned over, a tumultuous variety of emotions contended for predominance. Dim remembrances of the distant world in some; vivid recollections in others: in some, a horror of the turmoil of life which must now be encountered; in others, transports mingled with awe in the prospect of restoration to society: and in all, eager curiosity respecting the progress of the religious feuds whose effects they were now feeling, and respecting him in whom these feuds originated.

Towards sunset, one evening in the beginning of March, 1522, Liese, one of the sisterhood of the convent before mentioned, sat by the window of her cell to watch, for the last time, the approach of twilight over those mountains which had been the companions of her meditations for twelve years. Hither had she retired in her twentieth year, not from an impulse of enthusiastic devotion, nor in obedience to a family decree; but, wrung by disappointment, with the hope of finding a sanctuary where new griefs could not reach her, however impossible it might be for any power in earth or heaven to prevent the ghosts of former emotions from haunting her. She had found more than she looked for. Here the floods which overwhelmed her spirit drew off into a natural channel, and a deep and calm flow of devotion sustained her. Here she had long supposed that she should spend the remainder of her days, and had therefore attached herself in a spirit of content to every thing around her, contemplating no further change than was from time to time wrought by the woodman's axe in the woods beneath her eye, or by the chances of mortality

within the convent walls. On this last evening she lamented the confidence which had prevented her preparing herself for the encounter with society which she must again undergo. Her survey of the past presented nothing but melancholy, her anticipation of the future nothing but fearful images; and the objects on which her eye and ear loved commonly to dwell, now only nourished her sorrow. As she saw the herdsman following his kine down the valley, she had no benevolent thoughts to bestow on the wife and children who awaited him at his door. As she heard the horn of the hunter, or the song of the forester, from under the shadows of the woods, she did not look with her wonted complacency on joys which she believed to be far inferior to those of the privileged state in which she had lived till now, and which she had hitherto regarded in somewhat the same manner as the philosopher watches the first flight of a brood of nestlings, or the gambols of lambs among the furrows. She had now no leisure for the recreation of benevolent sympathies. Finding her individual lot involved in the revolution then taking place in the spiritual world of man, she gave herself up to amazement and grief that such a revolution should have been permitted: that the church of Christ and St. Peter should have been shaken to its very foundation, and that she, and hundreds as harmless as herself, should be driven from their retreats by the shock.

"He does all things well," thought she, "and therefore doubtless some mighty victory over the powers of hell is in preparation, of which their present portentous triumphs will but enhance the glory. But why, O why, is this daring heretic permitted to elude the arm of the Church? Why are the decrees of the Holy See of no avail against him? And above all, why is he suffered to drag the innocent, the pious, down into the same destruction with the blasphemer? How many are there now within these walls who, but for

him, might have lived holy and died assured of salvation, in whom vanity is already beginning to work, and who, in a few short weeks, will be tainted with the spirit of the world, and too probably, defiled with the heresy they now deplore! What can be so acceptable to heaven as a life of devotion in a retreat like this? Why, therefore, is it henceforth forbidden to us? If we are driven from our chosen place of safety into a region of snares, with whom will rest the guilt of our destruction? Not with Him whose kingdom is thus assailed. Heaven forbid the thought! It rests with him into whose hand the firebrand is given for a season, that he himself may be consumed at length. O, that this had been before or after my day, that I might not have mourned the going down of the sun as I mourn it now! It is gone. The last ray is fading from yonder highest peak. My last day of peace is closing." And Liese laid down her head and wept.

She sat motionless till it was dark, and then one of the sisters asked admittance. It was Helena, the youngest of the nuns, and the one who had most intercourse with Liese. She set down the lamp, and drawing Liese away from the window, placed her beside her on the couch. "I did not come sooner," she said, "though many of the sisters asked for you. I knew that their spirits would be too much for you. They were even for me, though I cannot feel so melancholy as you do."

"Where have you been, and what have you been doing?"

"They made me go out with them upon the walls, to trace the different ways we shall be travelling to-morrow. It really was a beautiful evening, and I never saw the plain look so smiling, or its winding roads so tempting. How early the buds are bursting this year, as if it was on purpose to make our journey pleasant! Sister Catherine says, she never saw the woods with a green tinge upon them so early,

and that they will be in full leaf before she has done travelling through them. Her way lies east, and we could not trace it far among the mountains. You may guess which way I looked."

"And did you see Nuremberg?"

"I could just distinguish its towers far, far away. I own it did make me tremble to think of the space we have to cross before we shall be safely housed again. But with you beside me I shall not be afraid of any thing."

Liese smiled mournfully on her young companion.

"The greatest danger of all, however," said Helena, "is one in which we could not help one another. Father Gottfried says, that the heretics in Saxony are becoming more and more violent, and that he thinks they may very likely come here. Carlostadius was lately at Hamburg, and his followers collected there, and went over the whole province, pulling down the altars, and unroofing the churches, and burning the books and priests' robes. There have been threatenings of such violence in this neighbourhood; and what should we do, Liese, if our way was lighted by burning churches?"

"Cast ourselves into the flames," cried Liese, fervently.

"Not quite so," said Helena. "I would rather turn aside, and not see the sacrilege I could not prevent. But it would make our journey fearful."

"Dread it not, Helena. Franconia is quiet, at present, and will probably remain so, since the adversary does not meet with the checks he has to encounter in the north. But is it not strange that he who stirred up all this confusion should have disappeared so suddenly, while the tumult waxes greater, as if he were still present to excite it?"

"He is present," said Helena. "Books which no other man could write, appear from time to time. No one knows whence they come, or how they make their way; but none

doubt that they are his, and his followers own them and act upon them. Father Gottfried says, the Evil One has made Martin invisible for a while, that he may escape the arm of the Holy See. But Mother Church cannot be long baffled; and if ever there was virtue in a papal bull, or an emperor's edict, the decrees of Worms cannot be long evaded, and Martin will burn, body and soul."

"By the light of his pile, we will return hither," said Liese.

"Nay," said Helena, thoughtfully, "but remember, that Martin is not now the only mover in this heresy. There is Carlostadius, with his crowds of followers in Saxony: and Melancthon has most influence among the people who ought to be the most scandalized by his master's heresy. Father Gottfried says, that the smooth hypocrisy of Malancthon, and the impious satires in the books of Erasmus, (which are spreading more than ever) are far more dangerous than any thing that such a bold-fronted wretch as Mertin Luther can do. If so, I do not see how or where the evil is to be stayed."

"Nor I, Helena. But we cannot doubt the power of the Church. On this we must depend. How shall we magnify this power if it should lodge us again safely here!"

Helena was silent. She took up a book which lay within reach, and began to examine it.

"How hard," exclaimed Liese, "that our very last service should have been profaned by the presence of the heretic sent by the magistrates, and to be obliged to receive and keep this book! Nothing, however, can oblige me to read it. I wonder that you should like to open it."

"I had looked at my own, before," said Helena. "Do you know, I watched every one as the delegate made us pass before him, and receive the book. None looked so much moved as you, Liese. I was afraid you would have cast it down, and trampled upon it."

"I would have so trampled it under foot, if I had not feared to do harm by provoking opposition. But I also watched you, Helena, and I saw no traces of indignation. How was this?"

"Because I felt none. If it had been one of Martin's own books, I should have refused at all risks to receive it; but in this book there can be no heresy. It contains the gospel, which even Martin's enemies declare he has delivered pure."

"It is enough for me, Helena, and it ought to satisfy you, that the Church delivers the gospel to us in due measure: and yet more, that the Word is here sent abroad clothed in a language in which it is not the will of the Church that it should be offered. If it be blasphemous to debase the gospel by translating it into a tongue which the meanest of the people may understand, it is surely daring, too daring, for one who is the spouse of Christ, to read what is thus translated. If Luther and Melancthon will thus defy the Church, it is not for us to encourage their heresy."'

Helena closed the book and changed the subject.

"How little did I think," said she, "when I took the vows, a year ago, how soon they would be broken!"

"And little did you imagine how easily you could bear to have them broken, Helena. This parting vesper service, which has wrung my soul, has not grieved yours."

"Yes," said Helena, "I felt grief when I kissed the relics for the last time, and when I looked on the crucifix which must be carried away to-morrow. But then, Liese, I remembered Nuremberg. Nurse Bohrla's voice was in my ears, and I thought of my garden, where the plants I was so fond of cannot all have died, and of the singing birds, which nurse vowed to keep for my sake. I hope there is no sin in remembering these things. I am sure I said my

prayers much better at nurse's knee when a child than I have ever done here: and I have never known so much of God within these walls, as I learned among my roses by the river side. Father Gottfried is very wise and very pious, I know; but I learned quite as much religion as he has ever taught me, when our old John lifted me up that I might see the bees at work in the hive, and when he told me legends of the Saints as we sat in the shade, angling for trout in the stream that runs past our garden. The swallows under the eaves have been a great comfort to me here. I have often been sorry to leave them for one of Father Gottfried's homilies."

"If you feel thus," said Liese, "I cannot wonder that some of our sisters, who have parents and brethren, seem more ready to depart than even yourself. I had hoped that a life of devotion had been more precious to you all."

"O, Liese, if you knew all, you would not say so, nor look on me with such severe compassion. You force from me now what I meant never to say to any one but my confessor. — Do you know, I have long been wondering what has become of my devotion, and I hope I shall find that it has only been laid asleep in this dull place. I am not like you: I cannot be pious in all places and times alike; and I cannot tell you how miserable this has made me, whenever I thought of my vows. I am very weak, very childish; and I believe I shall feel more fervor in my prayers the first night that I shut myself into my own little chamber at Nuremberg, than, with all my efforts, I have felt for these many months. I could almost thank Martin himself if he could help me better than my confessor has done; and it was because I saw something about prayer in that book that I was tempted to open it again. I wish you would let me tell you what I saw."

For this, however, there was no time, all the sisters being punctually summoned to the refectory, where the delegate of the magistrates was entertained with due honor. Silenced by the unaccustomed presence of a stranger, the sisters were not slow in obeying the signal to withdraw when the meal was ended.

"This night, at least, I may spend in peace," thought Liese, as she closed her breviary, and extinguished her lamp. "Heaven only knows when I may again be self-collected as it is my wont to be here;" and she opened her lattice that she might look abroad, as far as the grating allowed her, upon the star-lit scenery, and be fanned by the night-breeze before she lay down to dream of heresy and the perils of the world.

She was awakened by the trampling of horses in the courtyard, and perceived immediately that the escort had arrived which was to conduct the members of the sisterhood to their various destinations, and that the gates of the convent were now thrown open, never again to be closed. She hastened her preparations for departure, carefully securing her crucifix in her bosom, and hiding the new bible of Luther, which she intended to leave behind, in a corner where it could not easily be found.

Helena, equipped for the journey, came presently to assist her.

"You carry your new bible in your bosom," said she, not seeing it in company with the breviary. Liese pointed with a smile to the place where she had concealed it.

"Nay, but remember," said Helena, "that the delegate has orders to see that none of us leave the convent without a copy of this book. Besides, it will prove your best passport every where."

This was true; and as the family of relatives to whom Liese was going had embraced the reformed faith, she ac-

into the arms of her old nurse, and what transport was in her eyes when she waved her hand from the door to the departing escort. "It is but natural and just," thought Liese, "that I should give way for a time to older friends. I will wait." When she was well nigh tired of waiting, tidings came that Helena was ill, and had long been so. Here was a rousing motive. Liese changed her dress, and went out with her cousin Laura, avoiding every eye as she walked, and shrinking at the approach of every casual passenger. When they reached the fields and were alone, she looked up, she looked round, and a thrill of joy, such as she had long ceased to feel, ran through her frame. Fragrance from beneath her feet, beauty around, the music of the woods from afar, — all came at once to touch the springs of her loftiest sensibilities, and she was in a moment satisfied that her devotional feelings, however repressed, had not been destroyed. Now was the time, as Laura perceived, to invite their first religious sympathy; and the occasion was not lost. A few words from Luther's bible, which Liese had nowhere heard before, sank into her awakened mind, and were never afterwards forgotten. On a review of the day, she convinced herself that the renewed vigor of her piety was not so much owing to the satisfaction she had had in seeing Helena in a state of recovery, as in the new effort made, and the healthful associations revived by it. Henceforth she went out more and more frequently, finding comments on her breviary in the lilies of the field, and enshrining her homage in the evening and morning cloud.

With a happier state of the conscience came greater activity of body and mind. In a few months, it was not enough for Liese to saunter by the river side, or meditate in the fields for a certain time every day, and to go through the stated offices of devotion in her chamber. In propor-

tion as grief retreated, ennui encroached: and this ennui was attended with no small portion of shame; for Laura — the lost, the heretical Laura — was free from this visitation. The zeal of this reformed family led them to read all the works of the reformers that they could obtain; and their studies supplied them with a perpetual flow of ideas, banishing the dulness which had till now brooded over the interior of a German home. Hour after hour of every day did Liese hear the steady voice of Laura reading to her mother, interrupted occasionally by exclamations, or subsiding into a pause, to allow of a reference to Martin's bible.

"If they would but read something that I dare listen to!" thought Liese, as she sat at work by herself. The same idea had occurred to Laura; but the difficulty was to find in those days any book which the orthodox and heterodox could and would read together. The proposal was, however, made on both sides, consulted about, attempted, and very soon given up. The readings were broken off by disputes so often, that in order to preserve peace, which was equally the wish of both parties, the plan was relinquished; not, however, before the question had been asked why Liese should not study for herself. Here the accomplished Laura was ready and fully able to assist her friend. It was no disgrace to Liese that she could read little, and write not at all. Few nuns could; and fewer women in any station were so cultivated as Laura.

Helena was invited to join the party, and a considerable time was devoted each day to books and papers. The ci-devant nuns read apart, and a frequent intercourse of notes exercised them in their new accomplishment, in which they advanced with all the rapidity which might be expected from persons of active minds who wanted an object.

"You read more than I, Helena, and you write better by far. Is it because you are younger, or have greater talent? And you enjoy books more than I, which I wonder at, because they are almost my only pleasure, while you have many, — your bees and your garden, and old nurse Bohrla to take care of."

"I was going to say," replied Helena, "that I get on all the faster for having so many other things to do; and I enjoy books more because I have them in turn with other pleasures. I wish, Liese, you could be as busy as I have been lately. You do not know the pleasure of waking at dawn, and thinking, "I must be up and conning my task, or I shall not get it done to-day; for there is nurse's new boddice to be made in the morning, and a letter to be written to my uncle at Frankfort, — and it takes a long time still to write a letter, — and poor little Wilhelm, who is so ill, to be looked to before dark, and my plants to be watered at sunset." O! it is such a pleasure to feel that the day is too short for what is to be done, and to lie down at night hoping to do more to-morrow! When I was in our convent, I learned every thing more slowly, and took less pleasure in all I did every day. You know I told you then that I could not govern my mind like you, and be equally good in different places. Now I am in the way to be as good as you were there; for the more I have to do, the better I do it: and the more pleasures I have, the more I enjoy them every one."

Liese looked grave while she warned her young companion of the enticing snares of the world, and asked whether she did not find her time too short to perform her devotions properly.

"If you will believe me," replied Helena, "I love God much more than I did when every body thought my whole time was spent in loving him. I have so much to thank him for now!"

"Do you mean that you use the same prayers as often and as devoutly as in our convent?"

"I do, indeed: and do you know,—I think I will tell you, whatever you may think of me,—I have found out another way of praying, which makes me all the more devout when I pray in the old way. I make prayers of my own."

Instead of blaming Helena, Liese colored crimson, and hid her face, murmuring,

"O, Helena, so do I. I should have died, if I had not. If we both wanted it so much, if we each found out the way, surely it cannot be a snare, as I have sometimes feared it was."

"It cannot be a snare, Liese, or it would not make us love God more, as I am sure it does me."

"But Father Gottfried would not have allowed it."

Helena lowered her voice as she replied,

"It was allowed by some who must have known as well as Father Gottfried. Give me Martin's bible, and I will show you where I learned this. You have not thrown it away, have you?"

Not, Liese! She went, making no objection to Helena's offer, and took her bible out of its corner of the press, where it lay wrapt in its silken covering. When Helena took it, she looked full at her friend, who colored again, and shrunk from observation, as if she had been guilty.

"This book has been read, Liese, much read. It has been more used than mine. O, why have we not told one another every thing as we used to do?"

"I will tell you now, Helena. My cousin Laura repeated something out of this book, one day long ago,—the first day I went to see you. I wished to find it again, but something always stopped me. There was always something else that I wanted to read, wherever I opened;

so I began at the beginning, and I found what I wanted, and now I have got so far."

"Do you mean to finish it? If you do, we may as well read together. We will have no secrets from one another henceforth."

"Tell me then, Helena, how you make your prayers. Are they like our other prayers?"

"O no, not at all. When I ask any of the new things I want, I pray to God only, because the saints cannot help me in them. If I want to be forgiven, or to have more of the true faith, I use my old prayers to Mary and the saints, because they will intercede for me; but when I want that nurse should not die, or that Wilhelm should be better, or when I am very thankful for being so happy, and for every body loving me, I speak to God himself, as every body seems to have done who was taught by Christ himself. I should like very much to hear some of Martin's prayers; for he prays in this way. But now tell me, Liese, how you pray."

"Just in your way, except that I am not so happy, and have not so many people to pray for. I wish I had; but I cannot help the sick and the poor, because all who are within my reach are heretics. I am afraid there are very few of the right faith left in Nuremberg; and I am sure I do not know how to find them out."

"I will help you, Liese; and if you will come to me, I will take you to see Wilhelm, and two or three more people who want nursing and help very much. Here comes Laura."

"O put away the book!" cried Liese. Helena delayed, to ask why, and then it was too late. Laura's quick eye observed where it was opened, and she remarked that this was the very portion which her father was presently going to read in the family. The time for reserve being past, and

Liese's secret no longer in her own keeping, she owned that she should much like to hear the bible read by somebody else sometimes, but feared the commentary with which she knew Laura's father was wont to accompany the text. He did not always expound, however, it now appeared, and his daughter was sure he would refrain from doing so, if Liese were present. Laura's greatest surprise was to find how easily the objection that he used prayers of Luther's was got over. The nuns just observed that they need not join in these prayers, and made no further difficulty, but went down with Laura when the summons for family worship was heard.

The reader had the discretion to announce nothing that was very new or strange to the two friends, and the family audience the kindness to show no wonder at their presence. The tone of natural petition and ardent praise in which the devotions of the kneeling household were offered, struck on the hearts of the strangers who did not kneel; but that which affected them beyond restraint was the closing hymn. Neither of them had heard other music than that of birds since their own choir had been broken up. Snatches of their sacred chorusses had recurred a thousand times to each; but having no heart to sing their own songs in a strange land of heresy, they had never given voice to these fleeting melodies. The hymn they now heard, slow, solemn, and harmonious, melted them with mingled emotions, the most distinguishable of which was shame at having disbelieved that heretics could offer true worship.

From this hour, Liese was subject to no self-complainings of the tedium of her days, the monotony of her prayers, or the want of sympathy in her religious emotions. Helena helped her to find objects of charity; and the benevolent affections thus exercised gave life to her prayers. The three friends read the gospel together, and Laura's power

of illustrating many passages which contained no disputed doctrine, and were therefore approachable, rendered her assistance so valuable, that a common interest in the study was soon established, and topics for religious converse abounded from day to day. Still much was wanting to the happiness of Liese. She experienced the common lot of humanity, that as soon as one trouble is surmounted, another arises. Her heart still throbbed with painful emotions of unkindness towards heretics in general, though she had learned to make exceptions in favor of the Hüsens, and to hear the name of Martin Luther with a sensation of awe almost as powerful as her curiosity. That curiosity led her now to court every mention of his name, to obtain the minutest information from any one who had seen him, of his countenance, manner, mode of preaching, employments, and recreations, that she might reconcile the reports of opposite parties, and account for the fact that the same man was idolized by some, and abhorred by others, who pretended to know him equally well. In answer to her inquiries, Liese obtained so many anecdotes of the suavity of his domestic manners, of the playfulness of his conversation, the disinterested warmth of his friendships, that she could not avoid making this prince of heretics another exception to her anathema against the body, — a pretty sure sign that her orthodoxy had changed its character as well as its forms of manifestation. But here her charity ended. She took pains to feel no pity for the martyrs, whose sufferings and constancy made an occasional appeal to her sympathies. She would not look upon the sickness and poverty of heretics, because she was uncertain whether their afflictions might not be judgments upon their heresy; and was satisfied that their own corrupt leaders were the persons on whom the charge ought to fall. "The dead must bury their dead," thought she, "and I must follow my

Lord. Even Martin's gospel teaches this." So she still turned her head another way, when a petitioner would have obtained notice, still gathered up her garment when the hand of the excommunicated would have laid hold of it; still, when she saw a sufferer in the way, passed by on the other side. Her prayers, when they were the most sincere, expressed the most thankfulness that she was not as others, and therefore nourished in her the painful sense of uncongeniality, instead of changing it into free and heartsome sympathy; and increased instead of allaying the restlessness of spirit which arises when the easy yoke is uneasily worn.

Ere long, tidings arrived at Nuremberg, which created a greater commotion than had been excited even by the breaking up of the monasteries. Martin himself was coming. He had left his retreat for some time, and had preached in many places against the exeessive zeal of some of his followers; and now he was travelling from Wittemberg into Franconia, where the violence of Carlostadius and his followers had occasioned some disasters, to declare his displeasure at such unauthorized methods of spreading the gospel of peace. His name was now in every mouth, and there was a general contention for the honor of entertaining him during his stay. Liese lingered and listened anxiously to the hopes and fears of the Hüsens, as to whether the confessor could be persuaded to take up his abode with them, on the plea of the services they had rendered to the great cause. Others, however, had rendered equal services, and could besides boast of a more familiar personal acquaintance; and some of these having carried their point, nothing was left for the Hüsens but to hope that he would break bread under their roof. Liese was thus relieved from her doubts whether she should venture to remain in the house which held the arch-heretic. She comforted herself with the thought that accident might throw him in her way, and

gratify her curiosity while it saved her conscience. The great day arrived; the morning meal was hurried over; the early service of the family offered with peculiar fervor, before the gentlemen set off to meet the distinguished body of reformers who were supposed to be now approaching the city. At dinner, the conversation was all of the hearty frankness with which Martin had received the welcome of the citizens; of the grace of Melancthon, as he would have retired behind those whom he declared more worthy of a welcome than himself; of the promise of both to visit this house during their stay; of the general joy which was spread through the city, and the intense expectation with which the preaching of the evening was awaited. Liese longed inexpressibly to go. She watched Laura with a sigh as she equipped herself, yet sighed much more as she thought how her impatience would be doubled a few hours hence, when she should hear a relation of all that had taken place. Laura turned suddenly round upon her.

"Liese, how you sigh! I am sure you are longing to go with us."

"It is very true, Laura. You must listen well, and tell me every thing when you come back."

"If you are to hear all, Liese, how much better to hear it from himself!"

"Not so; for I can trust to your passing over what I ought not to hear; or, if you did not, I could stop you. But I could neither get out of the church, nor stop the preacher."

"But we know what the preaching is to be about," persisted Laura. "It is the very subject on which you and we think alike."

"It might lead to others. No, Laura, I must not go. Do not persuade me against my conscience."

"I will not," said Laura; and she hastened away, leaving her cousin melancholy in her solitude.

When the door was closed behind them, Liese wandered from room to room, unable to settle her mind to any employment. The unusual quietness of the streets made her look out. Not a human being was visible, none of the hum of a city was to be heard, and the evening sun shone upon the gables, and flung the shadows from the lofty houses, amidst a repose as complete as could invest a city of the dead. Liese was presently weary of the still lights and shadows, and longed for sound to dissipate her thoughts. She opened a music-book at one of Luther's hymns, and began to sing. This she did with unusual energy, because without fear of being heard, till startled by a knock at the gate. It was only Helena. Who else could it be? for every Protestant in Nuremberg, that is, almost the entire population, was hearing or attempting to get within hearing of Martin Luther.

"O, Helena, I was never more glad to see you. But are you alone?"

"Yes. I knew there was no danger of meeting any one during service time. We two, Liese, are almost the only ones shut out from yonder church."

"Do not let us think about that, Helena: it is dangerous. Do sing this hymn with me."

"One of Martin's, I hope. There are none like his. Yes: we will sing it, but not here. I do not know whether it is really very warm, or whether all I have heard to-day has put me into a fever; but I feel stifled in this room. Let us go to the arbor and sing there."

Liese assented, observing that there would be abundance of time before the Hüsens returned, as the service would no doubt be very long, and they would remain to see the great man go home from the church. She did not know of Luther's recipe for a good preacher, one of the ingredients of which is "that he should know when to make an end." The

nuns sought the arbor, where the evening breeze refreshed them, and began to sing, each requesting the other to give the earliest notice of the bustle which would mark the dispersion of the people.

"Beautiful!" exclaimed Helena, after a frequent repetition. "Now let us try one of our vesper services beside it. It is long since we sang any of them together, Liese."

"We will then presently; but here is another you have not heard. Join me; it is very simple. Ah!" she resumed when she had gone over it once, "this is not as it ought to be sung. If we could but once hear Martin himself——"

"I am ever willing to sing," said one who presented himself at the entrance of the arbor. "Music is a fair gift of God, and nearly allied to divinity; and so think some here who will join me with such skill as they have."

So saying, Luther took the book from the hands of the astonished nuns, and uplifted a voice as powerful and as sweet as it had been described. He was joined by some who stood behind and beside him.

Liese and Helena arose to offer their seat to him who was probably wearied with the labors of the day. They had no thought of departing, however. They mingled with the little party of friends who had accompanied their apostle from his church to partake of the hospitality of the Hüsens. Laura's mother was nowhere to be seen: she was within, making her domestic arrangements for the entertainment of her honored guests; but Laura drew Liese's arm within her own, and stood to listen.

Liese did not know whether to be pleased or not at all that passed. Instead of the vehement outcries against ancient superstitions, or the solemn assertion of new doctrines with which she expected Luther would intersperse his conversation, there were sallies of playfulness, and an easy flow of thought and feeling, which would, she thought,

have been suitable in any other good and happy man, but which did not at all answer to her conceptions of him who had stirred up all Christendom into an uproar. His references to religious topics were made in the same spirit and tone of expression; she did not object to their cheerfulness, but she could not understand their freedom. She had learned of late to be reminded of holy things by that which she saw and heard; and the habit was growing upon her so much as to convince her that it is much more easy to live a life of devotion, where a free range among the works of God is allowed, than she had once thought, — more easy than in a convent; but she had never heard such devotional thoughts as are suddenly prompted by passing circumstances immediately expressed like other thoughts, as they were now by the man who was wont to let his full soul overflow into his discourse. He was led on by the suggestions of those about him, especially by one of mild manners and graceful countenance, whom he addressed by the name of Philip. This Philip, whom Liese ascertained to be Melancthon, observed upon the refreshing coolness of the open air, in contrast with the crowded church.

"Even so," said Luther, "does God lead us from one scene of his grace to another. When we entered the church, we thought it a good exchange for the crowded streets; and now we like the stillness of an arbor better than a choir of singers, and yon speckled sky better than the roof that man built up. Yet it was grace that thronged the streets, and grace that hallowed the worship; and it is grace that breathes this coolness over our bodies, and the content that Philip speaks of into our spirits. Thus grace is every where, whether there be preaching or no."

"God, indeed, preaches wherever there is grace," replied Melancthon, "but men do not know or heed."

"There," said Luther, pointing to some kine that entered from the pasture field into an enclosure near, — "there go our preachers; there are our milk-bearers, butter-bearers, cheese-bearers, which do daily preach to us faith towards God as our loving father, who careth for us, and will nourish us."

"Then God's preaching has endured as long," observed Melancthon, "even backward down to Adam, as Christ's preaching shall endure forward, even when we shall say 'Amen' at heaven's gate."

"Aye," said Luther; "and God will go on at the same time preaching in the old strain, that will never be worn out till this world is worn out. As David heard and made answer, 'Thou madest man to have dominion over the work of thy hands,' so we hear and answer, 'He hath created all things sufficient for us. All the seas are our cellars, all the woods are our huntings, the earth is full of silver and gold, and of innumerable fruits, which are created all for our sakes; the earth is a granary and a larder for us: and he who provided all these put it into the hearts of men and women to help one another to the benefit of them.' So go we in to supper, and try whether there is not grace at the board as well."

As the party left the garden, Helena whispered to Liese, "Father Gottfried saw cattle come home to be milked, and his lattice looked westward, and he hastened to the refectory, yet he never bid us be thankful for the kine, or praise the sunset, or carry our religion to our repast."

"Because Father Gottfried did not see that the Gospel had any thing to do with these things. He taught us to take the Gospel by turns with other things, which seems to me a fault; but I doubt whether there be not also a fault in ———; and yet St. Paul did it, and St. James."

"They preached from what they saw; but was it not more gravely, more solemnly?"

"We know not, Helena. Would we could have seen them resting in Gethsemane, or assembling for the evening meal!"

Liese was much less disposed to demur to the propriety of Luther's ease and frankness when supper was over. The host led the conversation to the subject of monastic dedication, on which Martin eagerly enlarged, saying little to offend, and much to astonish, the released devotees, who sat afar off, listening breathlessly to the energetic speech which reached them, and might possibly be partly designed for them. The scope of his argument was, that those who become devotees after a popish fashion evade in part the obligation to devotion; yea, they evade the greater part, being devoted for themselves alone, and not for their brethren. No one could esteem a vow of devotion more than himself, who valued it all the more highly, the more strictly he learned to keep it; and it therefore grieved him to see how few of all who took this vow (for every Christian took it) were strict to observe it, and how those who evaded it most got the most praise. He had himself been one of these unprofitable devotees; but God had given him time, just before he was shut into the outer darkness, to dig up his talent, and get it exchanged before Satan could overtake him.

"Whereupon," said Luther, "he held back his claw and shrunk away, and now the gnashing of teeth is his and not mine; for Christ has given wonderful increase unto my traffic; and every day more and more of the redeemed come to him, and say, 'This friar who used to beg, now buys souls faster than the Pope can chain them, and hide them in dungeons.'"

"And this it is to be a devotee," said Melancthon, "as the Apostles were devotees."

"Yea," replied Luther. "David thought it an honor to be a door-keeper to the tabernacle; and it is a glory to St. Peter, — the true St. Peter, — to hold the keys that Christ gave him. But heaven has other doors, and there may be other keepers; and I wot of one who praises God, as I said, that instead of being turned out himself, he stands to call others in with the cross in his hand for a rod, and the Gospel for a golden key of like workmanship with St. Peter's."

"And is there a charge for every devotee?"

"Yea, for every one. God's work is not done in a day, though that day be eternity; and none need be idle but they that have nothing to do but to lie and be tossed on the burning lake. If any love such idleness, let them go into a convent, which is ever built close upon the brink. Well I wot I saw something of the dancing of the fiery waves when I was there, though I did not, like some, clap my hands for admiration, and take it for the sun shining on Christ's golden palace."

Liese slept not at all this night; and the first question she asked of Laura in the morning was, what Martin preached the evening before. Merely on the sinfulness of the violence by which Carlostadius and others had disgraced the Gospel; and the subject was to be resumed this day. Was there no doctrine? Little or none; he preached peace, and therefore dropped his warfare with the Pope for the time. This being fully ascertained, little persuasion was needed to induce Liese to attend his service.

When her perturbation on first entering a temple of the reformed faith had somewhat subsided, she became sensible that portions of the prayers were like an echo of some that had been between herself and her God. Losing the sense of where she was, yielding to the emotions of sympathy with those around her, she, for the first time, called them

brethren and sisters in her heart, and no contradiction came from above or from within.

The emotion of universal benevolence having been once indulged, time only was necessary to establish the principle in the heart of Liese. Time was given before any adverse influence arose, and then the principle was so confirmed, that the adverse influence only added to its strength.

The next year of the life of Liese glided rapidly away, amidst her studies, (diligent and profound for the age and for her circumstances,) amidst her communion with Nature, her deeds of benevolence, and her exercises of piety. Each of her occupations assisted the rest, and more especially the two most important. Her petitions for others were only the more fervent, when she prayed in their behalf for spiritual light as well as temporal blessings; and the ardor of her intercessions sent her with increased eagerness to relieve the sorrows for whose removal she prayed. So evidently safe, as far as it went, was this state of mind, so palpably true were the workings of her affections in these cases, that she felt relieved of much anxiety about herself. She felt she might trust herself, in a greater measure, to her own impulses, and relinquish some of the discipline, which, as she no longer needed it, could only impede her progress. She prayed more, and therefore used fewer forms of prayer; she denied herself more, and therefore fasted less: she was happier than formerly, more useful, more beloved, and her devotions therefore had more of praise in them, and less of penitence; there was full employment in the present for all her faculties of mind and soul, and she therefore looked back into the past but seldom, and contemplated the future more in the realities before her, than in the visions which floated afar.

Helena was in the place which she frequently occupied at the table of the Hüsens one day, upwards of a year from

the time of Luther's visit, when a dispatch arrived which astonished and somewhat dismayed the whole party. The abbess of Liese's convent, of whom they had heard nothing for many months, but who had probably been better informed of their proceedings, now admonished her dear daughters to repair to their mother in God, who yearned to embrace them once more, and to nourish them with the grace with which she had been gifted for their sakes; and which had been so long kept from them by the troubles of the disorderly, that they must needs be pining for it. She could not, of course, enter the walls of Nuremberg, but would await them at Saalberg, whither they would be conducted in safety by the bearers of this letter, dictated (for she was by far too holy to have learned any worldly accomplishments) by herself, as would be testified by the signet which they must well remember. The bearers of this dispatch sent in word that they could wait no longer than till the next morning.

Though they disliked the suddenness and peremptoriness of this summons, and did not know to what it would lead, the friends would not listen to any persuasions to disobey their Superior. They had not loved her in former times, but their remembrances of her were softened by absence, and by some sympathy in their mutual trials during the years of separation; and they each owned that they wished to see her again. During the rest of the evening, and till they were actually in the saddle the next morning, it was pressed upon them by the friends they left behind, that their monastic vows were dissolved for ever, and that it might become a duty, from which they must not shrink, to assert their freedom by returning, in case of any attempt to impose a restraint upon their consciences.

Their love for their Superior had cooled to its ancient temperature before they had been many hours in her mater-

nal presence. The circumstances she had gone through had confirmed all her faults; and the few virtues she had formerly displayed, did not appear so well in the open air of the world, as in the recess of her convent. She could not forgive the loss of her power, and was now making a last attempt to recover a portion of it. She had tried to recall one after another of her scattered brood, but some were fluttering and warbling far out of reach of her cry, and some were nestling close, warm, and safe, and would not be tempted forth again into the storms that were still lowering around. Liese and Helena were the only ones who obeyed her summons; and in her delight at resuming her office of schooling, she marred her own interest, and estranged them at once and for ever.

After a very long lecture on the damnable crime, not only of heresy itself, but of tolerating heresy, which contained allusions too personal to be mistaken, she proposed a walk; a very acceptable relief to her auditors, but one which she would not have afforded but for a special purpose of her own. She led the way to a hovel at a little distance from the town, and insisting with much earnestness on their not touching the threshold, or speaking to any one they might see, bade them look in at the open door. There was a dreadful spectacle. A poor maniac, a young woman, was crouching down in a corner, shivering with cold, (for her rags did not half cover her,) and chained by the ancle to one of the door posts. There was no furniture in the place but the straw on which she lay, and no traces of food but an empty trencher. She looked wild but not violent; and Helena immediately asked if she was harmless. Liese had no doubt of it from observing that the chain was long enough to allow her a certain range round the hut, instead of confining her closely. She was accordingly going to enter, when the abbess siezed hold of her with a cry of

terror. Liese pointed to the fetters, and was about to explain: but her Superior went on exclaiming, "Avoid her! avoid her! she is possessed."

"Possessed, mother! how do you know?"

"Her husband was burned for heresy, and she has been possessed from that hour. Satan entered into her when the pile was kindled; — a fearful warning, my daughter, and one which I brought you hither to behold."

The warning was, however, lost upon them. Liese gently approached the sufferer, and took her hand, and seated herself beside her, while Helena desired the servant who attended to hasten for fuel, food, and clothes. The counter-orders of the abbess, however, could not be disobeyed, and Helena must go herself or no one. Helena looked to Liese for guidance.

"Go," said Liese, firmly; "her pulse is fluttering, her eyes are glazed, she is utterly exhausted. There can be no doubt in such a case. Go quickly."

The abbess feigned to depart by another way, and leave Liese alone with the maniac; but neither did she thus prevail; and finding she did not, she had the grace to remain within sight, and see what became of her spiritual daughter, when thus left to contend with Satan.

Nothing very tremendous happened. By sunset, the sufferer was nourished with warm food, cleaned, clothed, and quietly laid on a couch, something softer than the one she had occupied so long. She never spoke, but smiled when Liese bade her farewell, and promised to return in the morning.

The abbess soon found silence the most dignified part she could choose, as her admonitions, though meekly received, produced no effect. She had gone too far in her representations of the danger of assisting an heretical outcast; for Liese knew that sentences of excommunication had lost

much of their power, and neither apprehended any danger to herself from her act of charity, nor despaired of finding some, whether orthodox or heretical, who would carry on her work when she must leave it, and afford the sufferer more aid than the authorities troubled themselves to provide. She was meditating on this while equipping herself for her walk to the hut the next morning early, when the abbess appeared, with horror in her countenance, and announced that immediate preparations for departure must be made; she could not remain another night within the walls of Saalberg. What had happened? Could they be in danger of persecution from the reformers? Had the disturbances so condemned by Luther commenced anew? No; it was something worse than any of these things. Martin himself was within the walls, and the town was therefore desecrated for ever. Martin close at hand! — The news conveyed anything but dismay to Liese. Martin at hand! — was that all?

No; it was not all. The truth must, after much hesitation, be told, though too dreadful to pass mortal lips without trembling. He was not alone, nor was Melancthon with him. Would he were, rather than the one who was with him: it was no other than — his wife!

So Luther had married too. Carlostadius had been the first of the eminent reformers to do so, and Melancthon had followed the example two years ago. Luther had approved of the step in each, but had declared that he should retain his vow. Liese wondered.

"I wonder at nothing, my daughter, that the arch-heretic does; but my shame is for his wife; — for her who was devoted even later than you; who but lately, as it seems to me, besought my blessing when I bade her farewell. I did indeed give her up when she fled her convent; but her marriage is an atrocity I could not have conceived of one who once valued my blessing."

Liese listened in anxiety for the name.

"Catherine de Boria!" she cried, "My playfellow, my friend, my sister, Catherine! How I have longed to learn what became of her after the flight of the sisters from Nimptschen! I know not whether to rejoice or sorrow that she is so near. I cannot depart without seeing her; and I fear lest I should no longer be able to esteem her."

Liese was firm in her decision to see her former friend: resisting the Abbess's wrath only by quiet determination. She had so much respect to her feelings, however, as to request Helena to remain with her.

Liese was glad that her errand of charity must be discharged first, as she wished to compose her mind for the interview with her former friend, whom she could not have conceived she could ever meet with so little confidence as at present. She had just said to Helena, "I can but return, if she fails to satisfy me. I have no doubt I shall return presently, and it will be a comfort to me to have bid her farewell. It can do me no harm just to see her. If I find her changed — sadly changed, the question of this kind of marriage will be set at rest in my mind, you know; which it may not be without. Surely it can do me no harm."

"Surely not; go, and I would fain go with you," was Helena's reply.

Luther was so accustomed to meet in society with released nuns, that they now attracted his attention no more than strangers of any other class. He had mentioned to Catherine that he had fallen in with some at Nuremberg, but he had not described them so particularly as to lead her to guess that one of them might be her friend Liese. She had, besides, always considered Liese so confirmed a Catholic, that she doubted not she had hidden herself, with her crucifix and beads, in some corner where she might hold

her faith in peace. Her astonishment was therefore great when Liese appeared at the door of her apartment, with lips that quivered, and eyes that glistened with emotion.

Catherine was fully aware of the light in which her disregard of her vow might appear to those who loved her most, as well as to the world. She was too humble to rely on Liese's appreciation of her former self for welcome to her heart, and too proud to rush to an embrace which might be refused. They stood for some moments regarding each other in silence, while the color mantled high on the cheek of each. Liese was the first to speak.

"Catherine, we used to be sisters. Am I now, as then, welcome, whatever be my errand?"

"Welcome, Liese, whether you come to blame me or to renew our friendship. Love me first and hear me afterwards; and then, if you can, love me still."

They could no longer resist the impulses which urged them to be as formerly, even if it must be for the last time. They gazed, they embraced, they wept, and for a few moments, all Christendom, its dissensions, and their causes were forgotten. At length Catherine asked if her friend was of the reformed party, or still a Catholic. Liese was at a loss to answer this plain question, which had never before been put to her by others or by herself.

"Speak out," said Catherine, observing her hesitation. "Remember it is not we reformers, but our enemies, who will have no friendship where there is difference of faith. You have nothing to fear from me if you tell me plainly that you think us possessed of Satan."

Liese colored proudly, while she explained that no fear ever prevented her declaring her opinions, and proceeded to explain that she had not embraced the doctrines of the reformers in all their extent, and in all their consequences; and yet that she was such a Catholic as his Holiness would consign to excommunication.

"What is it but a token of heresy to visit you, Catherine?" she replied.

"Even to remonstrate, Liese?"

"I came to listen, possibly to learn, more than to remonstrate. So at least, my coming appears to me, now that I see you so little changed. You could not look so happy as you do if you had an evil conscience, nor so serene if Satan had deluded you. O tell me then why you broke your vow!"

Catherine's tale was a long one, and the arguments which followed still longer, as Liese was tempted on to do more than listen. In the midst of their most eager questions and replies, a summons arrived from the Abbess, who made use of Helena's epistolary accomplishments, to desire her dear daughter to return to her instantly, or never; taking an eternal leave of the outcasts, with whose names she would not profane her lips — an eternal leave, since she ought never to meet them in this world, and, it was to be hoped, would dwell far enough from them in the next. Helena added for a postscript, —

"Think not of me, dear Liese. If Martin can help you back to Nuremberg, and you wish to stay, trust me for finding my way to you ere long. We go in an hour."

Liese wrote that she was deep in conversation with her old friend, but would be with the Abbess within the hour. This opportunity of return was not, however, allowed her. Her spiritual mother was too holy to wait, even one hour, for the chance of redeeming her erring child. Incensed beyond measure at the contempt of her authority, shown by Liese's not returning with her messenger, she sent again, as soon as Helena could collect her friend's travelling goods, to restore what belonged to her contumacious daughter, and commit her lot to her own guardianship. There was not a word from Helena this time, she having been

carefully watched. The only addition to the above message was, that the ladies had left Saalberg. Liese's indignation against such tyranny supported her spirit, and supplied the want of that "obstinate heresy," in which she was still deficient. Catherine rejoiced without restraint, repeating,

"Now you must remain with us. You must go with us to Wittemberg. We shall have time now to learn to think alike, or to agree to think differently."

For the present, at least, there was no alternative; and during this day she saw and heard that which reconciled her perfectly to her friend, if not to her friend's opinion and mode of acting on the great point at issue between them. When Martin appeared, heard the story from his bride, and gave his welcome, and strong words of encouragement to their guest, she was relieved respecting her personal security and comfort; when she listened to the domestic converse of Luther and her friend, and when she joined in the religious services of the household, she was equally at ease respecting the security of her faith. It required no long communion with the prince of reformers, to ascertain that her religion was substantially the same with that of the reformed church. The only difference was, that there had not yet been time for her new principles to do their work in dissolving prejudices and emancipating her understanding, as her affections were already emancipated.

The work proceeded rapidly under the influences to which she was now subjected; for she accompanied her friend to Wittemberg. With Martin himself at hand to solve her doubts, with Catherine at her side to sympathize and aid in her difficulties, surrounded by the learned, the zealous, the benevolent among the reformers, who thronged the abode of their apostle, Liese watched, with a wondering consciousness, the expansion of her own intellect, and the affections which thence arise; an intellect more shackled

than weakened by former influences, and affections which only needed scope to become as divine as earthly existence allows. While at Wittemberg, their scope was enlarged every day.

When Martin and Catherine married, they gave up all prospect of having a large share of this world's goods. They lived frugally, submitting to what appeared grievous privation, in the eyes of some who knew not the motives or the consolations of their poverty. They lived thus that Luther might devote his labors to the cause of the Reformation, instead of to that of a narrower benevolence or private gain. When it was urged upon him, that by opening a school of theology, and other branches of science, he might raise up apostles of the Reformation, while he enriched himself, he was wont to answer, that the empire was his school, the whole rising generation his disciples, voluntary or involuntary, and their gratitude and the countenance of his Lord, his ample recompense.

Liese heard, assented, and admired; but it was some time before she applied the same diffusive principle of benevolence to her own conduct, for want of perceiving its aptitude to her circumstances. She was satisfied that she did what she could when she visited the sick, the poor, and the afflicted, and denied herself, that she might relieve them. She mourned that she could do no more; but did not inquire whether her power was really as limited as she supposed.

Catherine was usually the companion of her charitable excursions. She could give sympathy and suggestion, though she had no money, nor even food to spare. She never repined at this; urging, as a consolation, that as her husband's fund of charity was his time and understanding, so hers was that domestic companionship and management which enabled him to give the world the full benefit of these talents. There were many who could do for him the little

that could be done to relieve the poor of their neighbourhood; but none who could translate the Scriptures to the edification of Christendom, or shake the deepest foundations of superstition, and thus prepare for the abolition of poverty.

Liese could do something of this kind of charity. She could not, like his privileged wife, animate Luther's exertions, sooth his irritations, and temper his influence, before it was given forth, to that state which society was fittest to bear: but yet she could do much. She could be his scribe, and assist him in many departments of his labors. She little thought, when she first took to diligent and deep study, that this pursuit was to be the instrument of her most extensive and valuable charity: and even after she employed it, after she had begun to assist in the revision of the scriptural translations, to make references, to hunt for illustrations, to conduct correspondence, to transcribe corrections, &c., she was some time in discovering the full value of her labor, and devoted to it only her leisure time.

One day, when Luther was over-busy, Catherine came to beseech her friend's assistance. Liese was just going abroad.

"I would fain stay," she said; "but I am not going out for my own purposes or pleasure."

"I am sure of it," replied her friend; "but how many sorrowful hearts may you help to soothe by the one work, while you can but ease one aching head by the other! How many impoverished spirits may you here help to make rich, while by going, you can only furnish bread for the day to a very few! If we can both feed the young ravens, and give bread to thousands in the wilderness, it is well; if not, let us leave undone that which is least."

"But I," said Liese, as she still hesitated, — "what can I do?"

"Martin and I have been told even now what you can do. You can make the hearts of all the worshippers in all the reformed churches in Germany swell amidst their worship. Yes," she persisted, smiling at Liese's countenance of astonishment, "the last anthem, that sweet solemn music with which it was given you to charm our ears, has moved others also; and, as I said, it is already sung wherever our faith has spread."

This day formed another era in the spiritual history of Liese. While with rapturous gratitude she poured out her private thanksgivings for her newly-appreciated powers, the finger of God seemed to point out her path of beneficence. She devoted her heart and understanding to labors which had till now appeared alien to her sphere. She cultivated her intellect and her tastes, as husbanding a possession common to society; she diffused their treasures as that of which she was but the steward, and estimated their value by their diffusiveness. But one doubt troubled her for a while amidst this course: her present occupations were precisely such as she loved the best, and she feared lest she should lose sight of the principle of benevolence in pursuing them.

"I have heard my husband say," replied Catherine, in answer to this doubt, "that the snare is where the duty of the time is irksome. All smoothness and pleasantness in a worthy task is a smile of Christ, and all reluctance is a buffet of Satan."

Liese was helped by experience to expound this pithy saying into the truth that every virtuous labor is easy in proportion as it approaches perfection; and that when a work is ascertained to be virtuous, increased pleasure in it, so far from being a snare, is a token of progress. In the same manner as perfect love casteth out fear, does perfect benevolence cast out reluctance; and both are crowned with rejoicing.

Deep was the peace which settled down upon the household at Wittemberg while pursuing their benevolent toils, though papal bulls were abroad to devour them, and there were tumults of friends and enemies afar off. No one who witnessed was more struck with this than Helena, when, after many months, she found Liese still an inmate of Catherine's dwelling.

Helena had soon obtained release from the authority which had become too irksome to be borne: she had since married, and before returning to Nuremberg, visited Wittemberg to persuade Liese to take up her abode with her.

Frequent and furious were the execrations she had heard of Luther, and of his innocent and beloved wife. Not long before she came within sight of their town, she was told that Satan was among them, punishing them already by the restlessness of an evil conscience for their sins against St. Peter. Neither her husband, who was a reformer, nor herself, believed anything of this; but yet they were not prepared for the scene about to be presented to them.

As they entered the apartment where Luther's family assembled in the evening, they found all engaged according to their wont. The grand work of revising the new translation of the Scriptures was now proceeding. At a table beneath the lamp, sat Luther, his large head and massy features cast into a strong light, while the countenance of his companion, Melancthon, was shaded by the black cap which he usually wore. These two were now poring over books, and now exchanging remarks, while Liese sat, pen in hand, and with her manuscripts before her, ready to note down to their dictation. Catherine's seat was next her husband's; and she sang in a low tone one of the airs with which she was wont to soothe without interrupting his toils, and which now served to lull her infant to rest. Around them was furniture which, however homely, comprehended

all that was needful for luxury as well as comfort; for there were books with which they might nourish, and music to refresh, their minds when weary. When Martin afterwards took his place at the organ, and encouraged the recreations of his family and guests by mirth as well as music, Helena wished for no greater punishment on his calumniators than that they should look in upon his privacy, and see how the object of their persecution speeded his days with toil, and solaced them with song.

Helena and Catherine contended long for the possession of Liese. Each pleaded "she is my friend;" and each would have had her promise to live always with them. But Liese would promise nothing more than to remain where she was for the present. She could scarcely gain by any change, for neither with the Hüsens nor with Helena could she be so useful, or, in consequence, so happy. How useful, how happy, how extensively changed she was, she became partly aware, for the first time, the day after her present meeting with Helena.

"See," said Helena, "here is a sketch I have brought you. Our mother could not spare the painting, of course; so I could only bring a poor unfinished copy: but your memory will fill it up."

"Our convent!" exclaimed Liese. "The very place! There is the curtain of ivy hanging over the gate, and the bell, and the roof of the chapel, and my window ——"

"Yes, Liese. I drew that little lattice very distinctly, partly for your sake, and partly for my own, — in memory of that evening when first we handled and spoke of this book;" and she held up her bible.

"And here," continued Liese, "winds the way down the steep which we descended trembling, and not knowing — ah! how little guessing, what was before us!"

She was silent. When Helena observed her fast-falling tears, she added, —

"Surely, Liese, though you have no domestic ties like Catherine and me, you have no wish to be dwelling on that steep again?"

"God forbid!" cried Liese; and a bright light burst through her tears. "I was only thinking how little we knew of true worship when we feared lest prayer should fail because that convent bell was hushed; when you and I drew the line between Satan's prey and the redeemed; when we hated thousands whom we had not seen, and loved but a very few, and strove to love those few less that we might love God more."

"And now, Liese ——"

But Liese was silent. The contrast was not to be drawn in words. It could be fully owned only to Him who ordained and blessed it; and even thus, fully aware as she was of her privileges, and conscious of the depth of her present peace, she was far from looking upon herself as society would have looked upon her, had it known all.

In a short time she became, though unseen and little heard of, one of the most powerful agents of the Reformation. Correspondence, conducted by her, circulated through all the provinces of the empire, and supplied fuel to the wrath of Henry of England, and topics of invective to the cardinal, his minister. Versions of the Scripture, transcribed by her, carried the knowledge of the Gospel into a thousand homes. Hymns, composed by her, exalted the devotion of a thousand churches; while, retired from observation, she knitted the hearts of others to her own far more closely than if she had loved none beyond; and worshipped God far more devoutly than when the service of the head and hands was wanting. Her worship had been an effort; it was now spontaneous. It had been periodical; it was now perpetual. Its song had died away in a solitary cell; it was now vibrated through the atmosphere of the

globe. It had been the servile whisper of a shackled slave; it was now swelling into the melodies of a spirit, ever singing while roving through the universe.

SOLITUDE AND SOCIETY.

THE gates of a gloomy state-prison in Austria were one day unbarred at the approach of a carriage escorted by a small party of soldiers. As soon as the draw-bridge could be let down, a stranger alighted from the carriage; the portal closed behind him, the troop of horse returned the way they came, and the only information which the villagers could obtain from the warder was, that the stranger was a foreigner, and a prisoner for a state offence. The unfortunate man was soon forgotten, and no particulars of his fate ever transpired in that neighbourhood.

In his native country, however, his story is no secret. He was an Englishman, named Helmer, a gentleman and a scholar, and though committed under circumstances of strong suspicion, wholly innocent of any connexion with the political intrigues of the country through which he was travelling. He had too much reason to believe that he should be left for years, perhaps for life, to suffer the horrors of an Austrian state-imprisonment, without the means of communication with his country, and under the total deprivation of personal comforts; like too many who have lost reason and life in such an abode as he had now entered. Though, by a strong effort, he preserved an appearance of calmness in the presence of the officers of the prison, a feeling more like despair than he had imagined he could ever experience lay heavy at his heart.

His anticipations exceeded the truth, as he acknowledged to himself when he surveyed the apartment to which he was conducted. It was neither dark nor cold, and it opened upon a part of the battlements, to which he was told that he had liberty of access at all times. It is true, his walk was limited to fifty paces; but from these limits he could enjoy an extended prospect through various loop-holes in the parapet; and while the winding valley lay before him, while the dwellings of men were visible, and the greater and lesser lights of heaven were open to his view, the fear was removed that his mind would prey upon itself from the exclusion of a variety of sensible objects.

When his jailer had left him, the first employment of the prisoner was to examine the bounds of his dwelling. No possibility of escape existed, even by the last resource of a despairing mind — self-destruction. There was no access to his apartment but by the well-secured door by which he had entered: there was no egress but upon the battlement, the parapet of which was on every side too lofty to be scaled by human foot.

"Here I am, and here I must remain," thought he, "till a power greater than my own shall set me free. My business is now to think as much and feel as little as I can. I must lay my plans, and ponder my duties; for even here there is a rule of duty and a choice of plans. If I had but occupation! — But I will, if possible, obtain books and paper. If I cannot, I must try what my years of study have done for me, and how far an active mind can subsist upon stores already digested. There surely are resources by which the intellect as well as the soul may be preserved from corroding itself. While I can retain the conviction (and surely I shall ever retain it) that a vivifying, refreshing influence is ever present to the soul, which can sustain its vigor for any length of time and under any circumstances,

I need not fear the effect of an imprisonment, even of years, if I can but prevent my intellect from stagnating, or from being over excited, of which there seems nearly equal danger, if I am to be denied employment. My mode of life, so quiet, so nearly solitary, should have prepared me better than others, one would think, for such a life as I may have to lead for months or years in this place: yet my spirit rebels, my blood boils under this tyranny, as if I had roved the earth like a Tartar, or fought for liberty like ——— him whom I rejoice to have known, though my friendship with him has brought me here."

He paced his apartment with a more rapid step as his thoughts grew more disturbed, and his indignation at the abuse of human power rose higher. Helmer was a philosopher, and when he found his passions swelling to a very unphilosophical height, be broke off his train of thought, and repaired to the parapet to look abroad upon the free earth and the expanded sky. The sight of human dwellings reminded him of his home, of the only sister who would soon look for tidings of him, and be disappointed; of the friend who would probably arrive in the neighbourhood to search for him, and leave him behind in the fruitless inquiry. Thoughts such as these were not of a kind to restore him to tranquillity; but there is a power in the influences of nature to which such a mind as Helmer's is never insensible, and which acts as medicine to fevered thoughts. The shadows drew off from his soul as they spread over the scene beneath him, and wonted associations arose with the star of evening. He felt ashamed of the selfish cares and fears which had so much occupied him during the day; and when the jailer entered with a light, Helmer felt more inclined than before to ply him with questions which would probably not be answered, and less impatient of the few civilities which the man seemed disposed to offer.

"Who has the command of the castle?" he inquired.

The jailer did not see how it concerned the geutleman to know.

"I care not for his name; but I want to learn how to address my request for an audience."

"You will be sure to see him one of these days. He goes the round occasionally."

This was a satisfactory piece of intelligence.

Helmer's next inquiry was about his property, especially his books; and above all, one volume which he desired to have, whatever became of the rest. The jailer knew nothing about books. Helmer described the peculiarities of the volume he wanted. He reasoned on the harmlessness of the occupation of reading, and on the hardship of being deprived of it. It was in vain. He offered a reward; but even this failed. It was no part of the jailer's business, and the gentleman must apply to the governor.

The jailer, as he pronounced this decision, was fastening the door which led to the parapet. Helmer requested him to leave it open. The man hesitated.

"What are you afraid of?" said Helmer. "There is no way of escape, unless the Evil One should fly away with me."

"He would be more likely to leave you here, unless he has an especial love for you," said the man, with a grim smile. "But I don't know why you are unwilling to be shut in from the night air. If you could give me a good reason ———"

"My reason is simply that I am not a very good sleeper, and it is a pleasure to me to watch the stars."

The jailer left the door unfastened, but gave notice that he might return if the governor should object to such an indulgence of the prisoner's wishes.

Helmer retired to rest with the hope that before another night should close he might have seen the governor, have

obtained possession of his Bible, and perhaps of other books, and possibly been enabled to form some idea of the length of his imprisonment, some anticipation of his future fate. His mind had, however, been too much excited to be laid to rest. He could not sleep; and after many vain attempts to turn his attention from recent events, he rose from his couch. His cell was dark, and it was with some difficulty that he found the door, and made his way out to the parapet. The moon had set, but the stars shed a glimmering light below, so that he could just distinguish the woods from the hills, and trace the course of the river as it watered the valley. The breeze blew cold; but its coldness refreshed him; and the perfect stillness, being natural to the hour, oppressed him less than on the preceding day, when it seemed strangely combined with glowing sunshine and fertile fields.

"I have often," thought Helmer, "looked on a scene like this at the same hour, and in solitude as complete. Why, then, with feelings so different? Because I was free? What is there in freedom which changes the face of nature, and brightens the aspect of every object? What was freedom to me?"

He paused in the consciousness that liberty of action had in his case been abused. Helmer was much addicted to study. His days and nights had been passed among his books; and while his heart was tender, his spirit devotional, and the Gospel was acknowledged as his rule of life, his enjoyments had been selfish, and his intellectual improvement pursued as an end rather than a means. This conviction now pressed upon him.

"What," he asked himself, "is the purpose of my existence, of every man's existence? To promote happiness by the means, and according to the law, communicated by God. These means I have possessed, and this law I have

acknowledged; but this end I have not pursued. By temperament I am compassionate; in imagination I am a philanthropist; yet I have done less for my race than the mechanic who provides for the daily comfort of his neighbours. When I have heard the passing bell, I have been wont to speed the spirit on its way by an inward prayer. But for the living I have done nothing. When I have seen the gay multitude assembled for the feast and dance, I have made curious inquisition into the secrets of every heart. I have speculated on the concealed joy and bitterness, I have watched the ebb and flow of passion, I have pondered the past conflicts and future destiny of each: but all this has been for myself, and by no effort of mine has victory been ensured in any such conflict; no spiritual nakedness has been clothed by my charity, no feeble exertions supported by my assistance. Here no passing bell is heard; here no voice of revelry will incite me to meditation; yet I may live to as much purpose as I have hitherto lived — nay, to more, if my solitary helplessness should enable me to form a truer estimate of the objects of existence, and hasten the practical conviction to which I must at length arrive, that selfishness is guilt, however fair and however honorable may be the disguise which it assumes."

He meditated long on the influences under which his tastes and habits had been formed. They had been unfavorable. Literary ambition had been excited and gratified at college. The admiration of his early friends, the devotedness of an only sister who prided herself in him, and ministered assiduously to his wishes, entire freedom from worldly anxieties, and the early severing of almost every domestic tie, had all tended to centre his affections in himself, and to incline him more to contemplation than to action. He was now conscious of having indulged a most ill-founded pride in his peculiar tastes, and a contempt as

groundless for what he believed the ignobler pursuits of less refined minds. As he watched the stealthy approach of day till a shower of light from an opening cloud gleamed on a reach of the winding river, he remembered how often he had looked down from the heights of contemplation with a contemptuous pity on the sleeping world; how self-complacent had been his feelings when he believed that his was the only waking eye which watched the approach of day, the only ear which was open to the greeting of the morning; forgetting the purposes for which the alternations of light and darkness are ordained, and deaf to the lesson which they teach, that action is the law of happiness, and self-forgetfulness a prime condition of enjoyment. "If," thought Helmer, "I might justly congratulate myself on my sensibility to the beauty of nature, I should have gone abroad again at noon-day to learn humility. Wherever I should have seen a mother tending her infant, a father earning his children's bread by the sweat of his brow, the nurse humoring the waywardness of sickness, the wise condescending to the ignorant, the virtuous bearing with the follies, and striving to remove the miseries, of mankind, I might have interpreted a lesson of reproof."

In such a conviction as this, humbled, but certain of having gained a new insight into a familiar truth, Helmer closed the first day of his imprisonment in sleep.

For many succeeding days, he was compelled to depend on his own resources for the employment of his mind. No human face did he behold but that of his jailer; and no sound reached his ear but the periodical grating of his prison-door, and the gruff and brief replies to the questions he asked.

He had now time for meditation on every subject of thought, and the worlds of matter and mind were ransacked for objects of speculation; memory was adjured to yield

up long-buried treasures of lore; and imagination was indulged till the most beautiful of waking dreams became wearisome. Meanwhile, a most important change had begun to work. To Helmer himself it appeared strange that solitude and anxiety should enlarge the mind and expand the affections. Yet so it was. The train of thought in which he had been first interested was still the predominant one; and as all influences combine to feed a ruling passion, all circumstances have a tendency to recall and strengthen a prevailing association. While questioning his reason concerning the causes and tendencies of all events within the scope of his observation, he became more strongly convinced that the discipline to which he was now subjected was intended to rectify his estimate of human duty, and to transfer his religion from the imagination to the affections. He longed to consult once more the book of spiritual life; but he was obliged to be content with the records which were preserved in his memory. He was amazed to find how scanty they were, while he perceived with equal wonder how deeply significant was every sacred aphorism, and how beautiful every fragment of evangelical wisdom. With greater astonishment still did he awaken to a sense of the nature of prayer, when used as a means of action, and not only as an excitement of sensibility. This was now his sole mode of exertion for others, and it was valued accordingly. When, wearied with anticipating his own fate, and dreading the effect of a concentration of his affections on himself, he looked round and saw himself cut off from communication with his kind, and felt that there was nothing for his hand to do or his voice to utter for the benefit of his race, prayer was an inestimable resource. If, as he might reasonably believe, his petitions were heard, many who never knew of his existence, may be enjoying the benefit of his intercessions; and the igno-

rant, whose mental eye is intensely fixed on the dawnings of wisdom, the oppressed, who is learning to stand erect, the wavering, whose best purposes are acquiring stability, may one day recognise a benefactor in the solitary prisoner whose sole communication with them was through the world of spirits.

After many months, when the long winter was past, and the western breeze had once more come to fan the prisoner's cheek and revive his spirit, a living creature fixed its dwelling near him. Helmer had observed the remains of a swallow's nest in a "coigne of vantage" which projected from the battlement. He hoped, and not in vain, that the pair would return and build in their old haunt. They came, and he watched with the deepest interest the progress of the work. It was nearly finished, when a violent hail-storm came on, in the evening, when Helmer had left the battlement for the greater warmth of his cell. The whistling of the wind, and its rushing sound along the parapet, reminded him of the swallows, and in the fear that the newly-cemented nest might be destroyed, he went out to see if by means of hat and handkerchief a sufficient shelter might be afforded to the birds. While he was thus employed, the jailer entered, and, for once, began a conversation by wondering that the gentleman should choose to be abroad in such a storm, and run the risk of having his light extinguished. When Helmer explained his reason, the man laughed, and said it was well for the birds that they built so near a person who liked to take care of them. Helmer thought of "the young ravens which cry," but he only said, "It gives me pleasure to help any living thing, but particularly of my own race. It would make me happy to help you, if you could but show me the way." The man stared. Helmer went on with an eagerness and an incoherence, of which he was afterwards ashamed, to entreat that if the man was

ever ill, or unhappy, if he wanted any assistance, any advice, any knowledge for himself or for any belonging to him, he would only come and ask. The jailer stood listening, even when there was a pause, and Helmer, thus encouraged, touched upon his reasons. The refined philosopher discoursed morality, and stooped to entreaty to the cynical jailer! The man left the apartment in silence.

Helmer started up and paced his cell. He thought over what he had said; and the stare of wonder, the unbroken silence which appeared the only result. In spite of vigorous, manly effort, tears — the first his calamity had wrung from him — fell like rain.

The jailer had been so far touched as to remember that *his* sympathies for his prisoner had not been so kindly: and, in consequence, Helmer was, the next day, honored by a visit from the governor. Nothing could be learned respecting the probability of release, or of being brought to trial. These were matters which did not come within the province of the military commander; and the little hope which his appearance had roused returned with a sickening recoil upon the captive's heart. One happy consequence, however, resulted from the interview. Helmer recovered his Bible. The jailer brought the precious volume with the next morning's meal; and when he returned two hours after noon, he found his charge seated where he had left him, and totally unconscious of the lapse of time. He was even unaware of the entrance of any one, till startled by the tones of a childish voice. He looked up and saw a boy standing in the door-way, while the jailer spread the table.

"That boy is my son," said the man. "I thought you might like a companion this afternoon, so I persuaded him to come; and if he is happy with you, this shall not be the last time. I did not think of bringing him till last night,

and there is not another man within these walls that I would trust him with; but I am sure, Sir, you will teach him nothing wrong."

Helmer looked wistfully from his little companion to the volume which he was unwilling to close, but remembering how many hours of solitude remained, he held out his hand to the child. The boy was somewhat afraid of him at first, but soon grew familiar. Helmer questioned the child on every conceivable subject of mutual interest, (and on many of which it was impossible that his little guest could know any thing,) till symptoms of weariness were very visible. Fearing that the boy might not be inclined to repeat the visit, unless better entertained, Helmer took him to the battlement, showed him the swallows' nest, and learned a great deal about the surrounding country, and the habitations concerning whose inmates he had longed to know something.

"This will be a memorable day to me as long as I live," thought he, as his little guest left him. "I have long ago settled in my mind what are the best purposes of life. This day has been appointed for the first attempt towards the accomplishment of one of them. This day may prove the beginning of a new life."

He paced his cell long that night, forming plans which might be executed, and cherishing hopes which might prove not altogether visionary: — a bliss now rare, a luxury long untasted. At length he sunk down almost exhausted, thinking, "I wish I were asleep, for I am weary and bewildered." But he was too full of busy thoughts and stirring affections to find repose. No contests for college honors, no national rejoicings, no events of domestic interest had ever excited his mind like the conversation of this child.

It was an excitement and pleasure daily renewed; but it was made subservient to higher purposes than selfish gratifi-

cation. Helmer watched over the child with such a love as might be expected from its concentration on one object. He taught him his own language, and by much patience succeeded in making him read from his Bible. He corrected his errors, developed his faculties, enlarged his views, and did all that a matured can do for a young mind, and all that a powerful intellect can effect for the improvement of a weak one. He smiled when he reflected how he should, but a few months ago, have despised his present favorite object; how irksome would have been the necessary exercise of patience and condescension. But he had himself undergone a somewhat analogous, though more exalted discipline, and while he became submissive to learn, he became also patient to teach.

Every hour when he was not teaching, he was learning. His Bible was his continual study, and he read it differently as his views changed. The leading point now seemed to be the benevolence which afforded a clue to every intricacy, stamped a celestial character on every dispensation, and beamed with a glowing radiance through the lives of prophets and apostles, up to the self-denying benignity of Christ, and, above all, to the unclouded, all-pervading love of the Universal Father.

When, after nine years of captivity, Helmer's release was obtained, he reëntered the world changed in all respects, but especially in the spirit with which he regarded the constitution and destination of society. His sister mourned over his altered appearance, and his bosom friend watched the gradual tranquillization of his spirits; but they knew nothing of the renovation within, till the truth was gradually revealed by facts.

"I suppose," said his friend to him one day, "that you have a horror of solitude, as you well may after so long an experience of it. I never find you alone and absorbed in

study, as in old times. Does the ugly vision of your jailer haunt you?"

"Not to any terrifying degree; nor am I afraid of solitude, nor do I abstain from it as you suppose. If you came to me early and late you would find me gowned and slippered, and in as deep a reverie, perhaps, as in former days."

"Yet you are as active a man in society as myself, though not, like me, compelled to activity by a profession."

"By no secular profession, certainly. But there are reasons to which you, my friend, are no stranger, which have at length obtained some power over my actions, and changed my views of duty. My former life was one of utter selfishness."

"Yet it was one which men regarded with respect."

"Perhaps so; but thus far men are wrong, unless they believe that the labors of the studious have a higher object than the gratification of taste, or even self-improvement. I speak, of course, of an entire devotion to books."

"What think you then of a German theologian who had not crossed his threshold for half a century?"

"I judge him not; as, for aught I know, his biblical studies might produce more beneficial effects than active exertions, and might be prosecuted with that view. But such a life would not now be my choice. I should fear to banish the influences of nature, and to reject the purest elements of knowledge and enjoyment which can be afforded."

"I do not wonder at your prizing the influences to which you owe so much. Clouds and sunshine, woods and streams, were your best companions for nine long years."

"They were more; they were messengers from heaven to me. But there were other messengers which spoke clearer truths, and in a loftier language. In my prison I

learned that every man is made in God's image, not only as possessing a rational nature, but as being the source of spiritual influences."

"And is a nine years' captivity necessary to the apprehension of this truth?"

"By no means; though to my shame, I acknowledge that no other discipline availed to teach it to me.—O no! many a mind which I have regarded with contempt on account of its partial darkness has carried this true light into its inner recesses. Poor M—— whom we laughed at for expounding the Revelations almost before he could read them, knew more of the philosophy of society than I; and the peasant's child who teaches her baby-brother to say his prayers is doing more in her appointed office than I in my classical studies. Yet you will not suspect me of undervaluing such pursuits."

"Certainly not. But I cannot understand why you were so very long in perceiving the end for which you were brought into the world."

"Nor I.— And yet how few do appear to understand it! Since I have reëntered society, nothing has struck me so forcibly as the misapprehension of which I speak. I see, in the moral frame of mankind, a system of mutual adaptation, secured by mutual dependence; the deficiences of some endowments are proportioned to the superabundance of others; I observe a sufficient general analogy between the passions and affections of different souls to establish sympathy; and a sufficient diversity to keep up curiosity and interest; I see enough of the spiritual nature revealed to give confidence to benevolent effort; and enough of mystery remaining to excite to further research. I see here and there a bright, alluring example of the blessedness of philanthropy, at which men gaze and pass on. I hear an universal acknowledgment of the obligation to do good to

the souls as well as the bodies of men: and yet, what comes of it? Some are too indolent to give, others too proud to receive instruction. Some are too selfish to inquire, others too timid to reveal. Men meet to worship God, and separate without trying to do his work upon each other. They pronounce that to his own master each stands or falls, and then have recourse to public or private persecution for opinion. They thank God for the honor of being his vicegerents, and then compose themselves to sleep at their posts."

"Nay, my friend: few, I hope, are so impious."

"Few or none are wholly selfish, I trust: but very few are happy in an apostolic philanthrophy."

"How eminent must those few have appeared to you, when you mingled once more among men, like a visitant from another world!"

"They appeared like beings of a privileged race. When I see a physician ministering to the soul as tenderly as to the body of his patient, when I see a preacher of the gospel discoursing more eloquently by his life than his lips, when I see a student gathering together the treasures of wisdom only to distribute them with increase, or a friend faithfully administering reproof; when I hear the highest wisdom conveyed in lowly words, and stupendous truths let down into the mind of a little child — I rejoice to see how the will of God is done on earth as in heaven."

"We also witness efforts to redeem nations from slavery, and millions from superstition."

"And in such efforts we recognise yet more eminently the spirit of the great charter of our spiritual freedom. But here the beauty of the work is too often impaired by the intervention of a narrowness of spirit totally inconsistent with the principle of the undertaking. No voice which preaches the Gospel to the heathen should be silenced because it cannot pronounce the Shibboleth of human impo-

sition: nor should that gospel be called impure which is held out by ready hands, though the washing, according to the pharisaical rites of ablution, should have been omitted."

"Your years of solitude have done much for you, my friend. What will be the result of the experience of the next nine years spent in society?"

"If I can obtain as distinct an apprehension of some other truth of equal importance," replied Helmer, "I shall not think that my time has been lost, or my experience wasted."

In nine years, Helmer was no more. The advocates of freedom in the senate were lamenting the loss of a strenuous defender of the national honor. The University prized the record of his name. His funeral hymn was chaunted on the banks of the Ganges, and the West Indian slave dropped a burning tear to his memory. The mirth of playful children was checked when they heard that their benefactor would smile upon them no more. The devotions of his household were now conducted by a voice which faultered at the words, "I am distressed for thee, my brother." In the house of prayer, his place remained vacant; and the pastor who had also been his friend, mourned that he must now turn to the records of memory for an illustration of the power of a sound mind tempered by love out of a pure heart.

THE EARLY SOWING.

One dreary winter's morning, a funeral, the preparations for which were of the most sordid kind, was made ready to set out from an alley in one of the lowest districts of the city of London. It was not regarded with any respect

by the gazers. They looked on with less curiosity than is observable in the country, where such a spectacle is less common: but what curiosity there was testified itself in noise and bustle. Some few who passed by cast a glance at the coffin and went on. Some pushed their way as if they did not perceive what was doing: but at every door stood one or more idlers making their remarks, and shrill voices from the garret-windows were heard above the tumult of the alley, and the rattling of carriages in the neighbouring street. The snow was all melted on the pavement, but some yet fell in dingy masses from the eaves, and the idle boys amused themselves with pelting each other, till one, ruder than the rest, flung his handful at the mourner who immediately followed the coffin. The example was presently imitated; and as the bearers turned the corner, the rusty pall was sprinkled with snow-balls.

It was soon observed that one who had been supposed to belong to the funeral-train had not departed with it. He wore a black coat, and was certainly a stranger in the place, and the neighbours therefore looked to see him go into the house where the death had taken place; but when they saw the door shut while he stood watching the boys at their rude play, they regarded him with suspicion, and many — for good reasons doubtless — closed their doors and retreated from the windows.

"They suspect me to be connected with the police," thought M., perceiving this: — "the first difficulty I have to contend with in all such places. I must begin as little in police style as possible."

"Your snow-balls don't hurt me to-day," said he, smiling, as one passed close by his shoulder: "but I should not like them if I were following a funeral."

"These don't hurt," said the boy who had flung the first handful at the mourner: and as he spoke, he looked round for a stone to put into the one he was making.

"Did you ever walk behind a coffin?" asked M.

"Not I," said the boy.

"If you had, you would know what it is to be made game of at such a time. It is mischievous to throw stones in the shape of snow-balls; but it is cruel to mock people when they are in grief. — Whose funeral was that?"

"I don't know."

"I bid you ask," said his mother, who had come out of her house on seeing the gentleman talking to her boy. "Why don't you ask, as your father bid you!"

"You want to know whether they died of the fever," said the boy; "but what care I whether the dead dog was hanged or drowned?"

"You would like somebody to care when your turn comes," said M.

"No more than I should care for myself," said the boy. "What does it signify? I saw a man drowned once, and I have seen many a one hanged; and I would as soon be one as the other."

"Hold your tongue you wretch," cried his mother. "I hope, Sir, he does not know what he is talking about."

"I do though," said the boy: "and if I am hanged, remember you taught me the way. I saw you steal before ever I tried my hand at it; and so I'll say....."

His mother had turned into the house before he finished, and M. followed her. When she perceived this, she turned fiercely round and asked him what he meant by making her own children betray her in the face of her neighbours.

"I came with no evil purpose," said M., "nor is it my business or that of the neighbours to find out whether your son speaks truth or falsehood respecting you. I see that he is a trouble to you, and I should be glad to help or comfort you if I could."

"Never mother had such a trouble," replied the poor woman. "I don't know which is worse, — to have him in sight, treating us in the way he does, or to be dreading to hear of the wickedness he commits, day and night, when he is away from us."

And then she went on to relate how her son often absented himself for days together, supporting himself she knew not how; but certainly by no honest means. There was no excuse of poverty for this at present, for his father brought in such wages as might keep the family above want. She did not believe that the lad would give over his evil ways if his father were ever so rich: he seemed to take to vice by nature.

M. mildly reasoned against so hopeless a conviction, and urged that if the boy's bad habits were traced back to their origin, there might be hope of cure. The woman's back was turned towards him as he said this; but there was something in her silence, and in the expression of her whole figure, which impressed him with the conviction that she was suffering anguish of mind, and that it probably arose from the truth of what her son had said about his first lesson in theft. Respecting her feelings, whether of remorse or of any other nature, he paused. A new topic was presently supplied by the entrance of a child of much more promising appearance than any who were playing without. He was also the child of this woman, who gave her name as Harris. She said he was some comfort to them at present; but she did not know how long it would last, for while Ned's example was before his eyes, she was afraid nothing would prevent his turning out like both the others. Had she then another child? Yes — the eldest, a girl, who, in the days of their extreme poverty, hired herself out as a porter in one of the markets. She had become more and more irregular in her earnings and in her return home, and had at length disappeared

altogether. Since then the family had changed their dwelling, which made her return to them more improbable than it would otherwise have been. Mrs. Harris had long opposed the removal; but her husband had taken a disgust to the place in which they had suffered so much, and being a stern man had little wish to see his daughter again; and all that the unhappy mother could do was to leave word with the neighbours where the family might be found, and to go among them, from time to time, to ask whether the wanderer had returned, — and be disappointed.

Having no comfort to suggest respecting her, M. inquired what means were taken to prevent the corruption of the youngest boy. He was kept as much as possible from playing with the children in the alley, and employed by his mother's side. This was all.

"Do you not send him to school?"

"I never could part with him out of my sight, after what I had gone through with the other two."

"You take him to some place of worship?"

"I have no heart to go to any such place. We have never kept our Sundays since our troubles were at the worst. We left off going out then because we had not clothes to put on."

"But there is no such reason now."

"No, Sir; but every thing is so changed since the time when we used to make Sunday our resting-day, that we try, I scarcely know how, to make it as much like other days as we can. I have often wished we lived out of hearing of the church-bells."

Before M. could reply, Harris entered. He looked full at the unexpected visitor, and rather surlily asked what business brought him. He was but little softened by M.'s explanations of his purposes of kindness and peace.

Harris answered that his troubles, be they many or few, concerned only himself, and he hoped the gentleman would leave him to get over them as he could. It signified to nobody what became of him and his.

"Indeed!" said M. "And do you feel no concern when you see a neighbour tossing on his bed with pain, or downcast because he sees his family starving round him? Do you say it is no concern of yours, and instead of trying to help him leave him to get over it as he can?"

"When I am sick," said Harris, "I will send to the doctor; and when we are starving, we will go to the parish, and ask nobody's charity in either case?"

"And when you are unhappy," said M., "what then?"

"I don't think reading prayers does any good, so I shall not send for the clergyman: and if he chooses to come without being sent for, I shall not scruple to tell him my mind."

"I understand you," said M., "and I agree with you further than you think. I am not come to read prayers with you; for, though I am certain that it is our best comfort to look to God at all timcs, I believe that we please him best by helping one another, in the first place, to remedy the misfortunes we meet with. Did you ever see a man lying by the road-side so sick or hurt that he could not go on with his journey?"

"No; but I saw a woman only the other day run down in the street, and her leg broken."

"And what became of her?"

"We got a shutter, I and another man, and carried her to the hospital."

"Poor soul!" said his wife. "She fainted by the way and they thought she was gone, till George got some wine, and poured it down her throat. And when she reached the hospital, all her cry was about her children, till George offered to go and see that they were taken care of."

"Why did you trouble yourself?" asked M. "What did it signify to you what became of her and hers?"

Perceiving that Harris was at a loss for a reply, he continued,

"I was going to remind you of a story of a man who fell among thieves, and was left by the wayside wounded and half-dead; and of the way in which he was helped by one who passed by, and had compassion on him. But, by what you have told me, I think you must remember the story well, and who told it first. If so, you cannot doubt its being the duty of us all to help one another whenever we can."

"It would be unnatural to let any body faint or die for want of a drop of wine or so," said Harris. "But that has nothing to do with your coming here. You can't bring back my daughter; and as for that boy yonder, he is made for the gallows: 'tis his own father says it," he continued, flinging his hat to the furthest corner of the room, "and 'tis his own father that forbids you to meddle with him, and to come any more to see what trouble we are in."

M. instantly rose to depart. "I will not remain with you against your will," he said, "and it is my rule never to interfere between parents and children. But nothing can prevent my feeling for you, or keeping an eye upon your son, with the hope of giving you assistance or comfort when you will be more willing to receive it. If you wish to see me again you will find me according to this address."

When M. had laid his card on the table, Mrs. Harris exclaimed,

"O George! It was but yesterday you said that nobody in the world cared for us, and that no good came to us from living, as people boast, in a Christian land. And now you send away the first friend that has come near us these many days."

M. paused a moment to see the effect of this expostulation; but as Harris still stood in an attitude of sullen gloom, he hastened away. As he left the alley, he spoke a few words to Ned in a tone which convinced the boy that the stranger had not been, as he supposed, "set against" him by his parents.

M. was not much surprised at meeting Harris, within a week afterwards, coming in search of him. The man looked awkward, and began a kind of apology, which M. cut short with a smile and a few kind words. Harris came to say that his boy's curiosity seemed to have been excited by M.'s visit. He had asked two or three times what the gentleman came for, and whether he would return; and, as he had obtained no satisfactory answer, the incident seemed to have made more impression upon him than was usual. His mother fancied that the reappearance of the stranger might produce a yet further effect, and therefore humbly requested the favor of another visit, which M. gladly promised. He determined that Sunday morning should be the time, as the whole family would then probably be at home; but he made no appointment, lest Harris himself should take care to be out of the way.

As M. entered the district in which Harris's house was situated, there was nothing to remind him that it was the Lord's-day but the church-bell, which the wretched in spirit would fain have silenced. No man was more averse than M. to the sight of evil over which he had no power; and he therefore pushed his way hastily through the groups of slatternly gossips who were abroad to buy their potatoes, and made a wide circuit to avoid the sound and smell of the crowded gin-shop. When he reached the place of his destination he found no drunkenness, but almost every evil short of it. Harris was out in search of Ned, who had just

made his escape, as he was for ever trying to do on the Sunday morning. The younger boy was leaning half-naked out of the window, watching a fight which had been got up between two cocks in the alley; while his mother was preparing to clean the room. There was not a chair to sit down upon, and her appearance was more untidy than could be excusable on the busiest Saturday night.

"I should not have guessed that you lived within hearing of church-bells," said M. "You seem to have forgotten that this is Sunday."

Mrs. Harris, with some confusion, asked him in, promising to arrange the room in a few minutes. M. refused, but offered to return in half an hour, when her husband might be at home, and the house and herself in better order.

M. presently met Harris in the street. He had traced his boy to his usual Sunday haunt, and was returning, angry and miserable, to tell his wife that they need not expect to see Ned for hours or perhaps days. He had joined a set of young thieves who met in a cellar near to play cards and drink spirits all the Sunday. "You have tried to bring him home, of course," said M. "Why did you leave him."

"You don't know what it is, Sir, for an honest man to show himself among those young rogues. I once followed Ned in, and I will never go again. They would lay hold of me, and turn me out with a word from him."

"I will go, however," said M., "if you will show me the way."

"You don't know what you would be doing, Sir; you would be in danger of your life.

"I think not," said M. "So just turn back with me, will you?"

Harris obeyed unwillingly, and retreated when he had pointed out the entrance to this place of iniquity.

M. having given his name, gently pushed past the astonished proprietor, who would have opposed his proceeding. When he stood in the door-way, the sight of the squallid groups, the sound of their untamed voices, the smell of spirits, were inexpressibly disgusting: but M. commanded his feelings and his countenance, and stood waiting till his presence was perceived. There was presently a sudden hush in the place, and then he said in a mild, distinct voice, as he looked slowly round,

"Edward Harris, it is you I want."

Till he fixed his eye on a party of card-players in the furthest corner none knew to whom he spoke, for the frequenters of such places are not known by their own names. Ned himself had almost forgotten his. — He was evidently startled by M.'s appearance, and threw down his cards; but at the instigation of one of his companions, he took them again, and held them up as a sign that he could not leave his game.

"I am in no great hurry," said M., descending the steps. "Give me a seat, and I will wait till your hand is out."

No one offered any opposition to his seating himself on a bench in the midst of them. He drew a candle towards him, (for no daylight penetrated here,) took a book out of his pocket, and began to read. He had not to wait long. His presence was a restraint which the people round him were eager to get rid of. If his manner had been any thing but what it was, they would have turned him out; as it was, they urged Ned to go with him and see what he wanted, and to come back as soon as he could.

"Are you ready, my boy?" said M., when the cards were again thrown down: and the lad followed him passively, as he made his way to the door, taking not the slightest notice of the parties on either hand.

"What do you want with me?" said the boy. "You are not going to have me taken up?"

"No," said, M., "not till I see that you know what the law is, and that you break it wilfully.—I am come to take you home. There stands your father. He has been working laboriously all the week, and it is hard that his rest should be broken to-day by toiling and fretting after you."

"He lets nobody have any rest at home," said Ned; "nor my mother neither. He would flog me this minute if you were not here; and he will as soon as your back is turned; so I shall not go home."

"I am going with you," said M.; "and as for flogging you, it is not the time for it when you are doing what he wishes. And as for peace and comfort, there can be no comparison between dinner and a good fire above ground, and the cold and dirt of yonder cellar. Fire warms one better than spirits at any time."

By this time Ned saw with surprise the blaze of a good fire through the window of his home. His mother was tidily dressed; Willy had his face washed and his hair smoothed, and the furniture was all in its place. In consequence of a sign from M., both father and mother refrained from any notice of the boy's absence and return. They presently perceived that M.'s coat was wet with the heavy rain. He took it off, and gave it to Ned to dry, and calling little Willy to him, he asked him if any body ever told him tales to amuse him: and presently interested him in the story of Joseph. He was not a little glad to see that Ned nearly let the coat burn while the narrative went on, and to hear Harris observe to his wife that they had once had a picture of that story, if they could but find it up to show the child.

M. said that his children had pictures of it: and he told little Willy that if his brother would bring him to his house in the afternoon, they might look at them. He directed

Ned how to find the way, and begged of him not to disappoint the child. Then seeing that the hungry boys were eyeing the boiling pot which contained their dinner, he rose to go.

"It is not for us to ask whether you will take a bit with us," said Harris.

"Some day I will," replied M., "but now I have to go further; and I must be at home when your boys come."

"You will come again, Sir," said the anxious parents in a low voice, as he crossed their threshold.

"Certainly; next Sunday or sooner." And he felt pretty confident that Mrs. Harris would now finish her week's work on the Saturday night.

"What has been done in this case, as in others," said M., when, a few weeks after, he made his report to those under whose authority and by whose support his mission was conducted, — "what has been done appears trifling in the detail, but I am sure it is important in reality. We have no sudden reformation to boast of. These people have not yet attended public worship; they have not yet taken to reading the Bible, and I have not seen them in such a state that I could mention prayer to them. If they had, like others under my charge, needed assistance from our purse, the work would have been quickened; but it is proceeding. It is something that they make a friend of me. It is something to have engaged them in any kind of observance of the Lord's day, and to have united the family in any common interest, if it be only listening to the Bible stories I relate to the child. I have further reason to hope that the season of greater progress is at hand."

"What reason?"

"Last Sunday, having gone early on purpose, I rose to depart when the first bell sounded, saying that the time for

service was too precious to be always sacrificed. I thought they looked wistfully after me, and I believe a word from me will ere long make them follow me. — And so convinced am I, from the changed tone of our intercourse, that any remarkable occurrence which may befall them, be it prosperous or adverse, will induce an expression of good feelings which are now strengthening in silence, that I watch in their case with peculiar interest, for the arrival of one of those outward changes which happen occasionally to all. If we could but gain tidings of the daughter * * * * * *"

"It is not impossible. Devise the method, and the means shall not be wanting. You have done so much that it would be sinful to despair of the rest. Why should we not remind one another that our office is that of the apostles of old? It will strengthen us to proceed upon their principle, — that it is ours to plant and to water, trusting to God to give the increase."

TRUE WORSHIPPERS.

Far among the hills of a northern county lies a village whose inhabitants, being secluded from intercourse with any society but their own, retain a primitive simplicity of manners. Tidings of what is passing in the world reach them only when the agents of the factors by whom some of the people are employed pay their periodical visits of business, or when the carrier's cart returns from its weekly trip, bringing a store of the few comforts and luxuries which they cannot produce among themselves.

One frequent guest was, indeed, made welcome among them for many a year; but his visits were too short, and his conversation was too precious to be much devoted to

secular affairs. His connexion with the inhabitants was singular, but a source of great and permanent advantage to them and satisfaction to himself. Edwards was a poor man, engaged every day and almost all day long in the same employment as his friends in the village; but his education had been somewhat superior to his circumstances, and he had improved to the utmost the advantages he had enjoyed. He had a clear head and a warm heart, and the ardor of his mind was early directed to the most important subjects in which the understanding and the affections can be engaged. From being a religious man he became a religious teacher; and, destitute as he was of all pretensions to learning, far as he was from claiming any superiority over his hearers except in experience, his devotional services were not only acceptable to the people, but were attended with a very remarkable success. Early in the morning of every Sabbath he arrived at the village, and collected the people for a short service. At noon, they assembled again, and in the evening, Edwards was preaching for a third time at a town five miles distant. For many years his sabbaths had been thus spent, and as he grew older his zeal did not relax. Before any symptom of infirmity appeared, he began to look around and ponder how the religious instruction of his people should be provided for, when he should no longer be equal to his present exertion. The village contained neither church nor chapel; no Methodist ever had set foot in it, and its very existence was known to few. Edwards was as modest as he was zealous; and he shrank from making known what his exertions had been, and from bringing strangers to witness the extent and rewards of his usefulness: but, at length, remembering that at seventy-three it was presumptuous to reckon on a prolongation of bodily and mental vigor, and that his duty to his friends in the village required him to

find a successor, he took the necessary measures. His peculiar qualifications had brought him acquainted with some young men who were preparing for the duties of the ministry, and to their notice and care he recommended his little flock. No time was lost in relieving him of a part of his Sunday labors, and in accustoming the people to follow another voice than that which had so long led their devotions. The introduction of these young preachers formed an era in the history of the village. The room in which they had been accustomed to assemble, though the most commodious in the place, was too small and inconvenient for the purpose; and the stupendous conception of a meeting-house having been familiarized to their minds by their new friends, they were easily excited to the effort of erecting one. Masons and carpenters offered their gratuitous labor, and their families the little they could spare from their earnings. The remaining funds came, they knew not how or whence, through the hands of the young preachers. Very soon the white walls of the new chapel were seen rising among the trees which crowned a little eminence at the outskirts of the village. The laborer stopped to survey the work as he returned from the field: the children peeped into the vestry where they were to learn their Catechism and read the Bible; and here and there an aged woman wished that another Whitefield might deal forth the spirit and power of the Gospel within those walls.

When all was completed, a day was appointed for the opening service, at which several ministers and other friends to the cause had agreed to attend. It was the wish of all that Edwards should take a share of the honorable labors of the day, as he had been the prime mover in the work which was now accomplished: but it was so painful to the old man to be brought into notice by any call but that of duty, that the point was yielded, and he was allowed to

enjoy the scene in his own way, — as a spectator. He was, however, the most distinguished person in the throng; and while the reverend gentlemen were entertained with all due courtesy and respect, a heartier welcome and a kindlier smile were reserved for the old man. His grey hairs won him more respect than clerical robes could have done; and his complacent smile seemed to give new pleasure to the day.

Though the building could conveniently accommodate three hundred persons — the whole population of the place — the number of visiters was so great that it was evidently impossible that all could obtain admittance. When every bench was occupied, and the aisle filled, a crowd still remained without. A young minister, who was well known to the people, therefore invited those who could not find room to follow him to the hill-side. He took his place under a tree, and an audience of some hundreds seated themselves round him. It was one of the early days of autumn, mild, bright and calm. Not a leaf was stirred; not a sound arose to interrupt the voice of the preacher, which might have been heard to a great distance. Though quite unprepared for preaching, the occasion afforded sufficient inspiration, and he discoursed with vigor and simplicity, and with so much earnestness, that he forgot the time, till informed that the congregation within was about to begin the closing psalm. He immediately brought his discourse to a conclusion, and gave out the same psalm. The doors of the chapel were thrown open, and all voices, as well as all hearts and minds, were united in the swelling hymn. If any stranger had chanced to pass by at this time, he would long have remembered that music, and felt the impression of the solitary voice which preceded it. Of the force of this impression I can judge from my own observation. It was powerful enough to open the lips and dispel

the reserve of one who had seldom, if ever, been known before to speak on any subject connected with religion.

I refer to a gentleman who lived in the neighbourhood, and at whose house I was on a visit at the time. I had a general idea that he disapproved of the use of forms in religion, but whether this dislike extended to all outward observances, I knew not. On all occasions when the conversation referred to the most interesting of all subjects, he showed a sensitiveness for which I was at a loss to account. He was neither careless nor contemptuous; but profoundly and uneasily silent. The conversation was frequently directed to the topics which he would fain have avoided; for of his many friends none could penetrate the mystery which hung around this recess of his mind; and some were urged by curiosity, others by a better motive, to attempt to gain some insight into his views. But it was in vain. This day afforded the first occasion, and I was made the first depositary of any communication of the kind.

I had joined the congregation on the hill-side. Towards the conclusion of the service, I observed with some surprise and more pleasure that my friend L—— was standing among the trees at a little distance, and (as I knew by his attitude of attention) within hearing of the preacher. Before the last notes of the hymn died away, he was gone; but not towards home. As I was about to enter the village in company with some of the visitors, I met him, and immediately turned back with him. As we passed within sight of the chapel, we observed Edwards standing in the door-way, speaking to the children of the Sunday School, as they were about to depart with their books.

"Your primitive preacher is in his glory to-day," observed L——. "He is idolized by the people here, but what would be thought of his services in the next cathedral?"

"Primitive preaching would be misplaced in a cathedral," I replied. "But if the worshippers were to admit his teaching to be primitive, and follow him hither to listen to it, they would afford it the highest possible praise."

"There is but little probability, I imagine, that Edwards's services would suit any but those who have heard no others."

"They would suit only hearers of simple habits and tastes."

"And narrow minds."

"Not exactly so. Many a scholar, and many a divine, might hear him with profit and pleasure, if they bring with them the true spirit of religion. Yet he is not the man one would set in the pulpit of a metropolitan church, to lead the devotions of an enlightened society."

"You admit then that the best, that is, primitive preaching is not suited to an enlightened society."

"It is with regard to the spirit, and not to the mode, that I call primitive preaching the best. The best mode is that which is most suited to the auditory."

"I cannot," observed L——, "believe that religion destined to be universal which must needs be altered and accommodated continually as the fashions of thinking and feeling, — mere fashions of the world — change and succeed each other."

"You make no distinction between the spirit and the form," said I. "The same spirit pervades all the preachings of Paul, yet what can be more various than their forms? The same Gospel appeared under a different aspect to the Romans and the Hebrews, and a third mode of address was made use of to the polite Athenians. If Paul had lived to this day, can you suppose that his teaching would not have varied with every century and been adapted to every auditory? Would he have used the same dis-

courses for a conclave of Cardinals and for the Vaudois? Would he use the same mode of address in a university and to this little flock among the hills?"

"If forms are instituted and modes adopted only to be dismissed or changed," replied L——, "it would surely be better to dispense with them altogether, and let the religion of every man be between himself and his God. While these people were left to be religious in their own way, they were at peace with each other and happy among themselves; but now that their religion is made a matter of external observance, there will soon be an end of this state of things. The Methodists will be upon us presently; the Baptists will be instituting their ceremonies, and by and by we shall have a church, and the children will be devoutly taught to bow to the east. And so religion will degenerate."

"If inseparably connected with unvarying forms," I replied, "religion must indeed degenerate; witness the absurdities which would ensue if the whole Christian world were to become followers of Ann Lee, and dance because David danced before the ark. But religion would not only degenerate but expire, if deprived of expression."

"You surely dishonor religion in saying so."

"By no means. The best honor is paid to religion by showing that it is adapted to our nature. Our nature is not wholly spiritual, and we cannot therefore entertain a continual regard to objects which are never presented in a sensible form. While we are composed of body and spirit, the spirit of truth will be apt to escape us unless it be occasionally embodied It follows, that while our attention is incessantly attracted to sensible objects, the best mode of keeping religion awake in the soul is to associate it as extensively as possible with these objects. The common error, and that of which you complain, is, that religion is thus associated with a limited range of objects; con-

nected by an arbitrary human will with particular times, words, and actions, and disconnected with all others."

"It is of such a peculiar connexion that I complain: but surely, by extending the connexion, you still further degrade religion."

"Let us rather say that sensible objects are thus spiritualized. Destined as they are to decay, a species of immortality is conferred on them by making them the elements of a spiritual life; and that this is the process ordained, and which cannot be safely interfered with, our whole experience teaches."

L —— seemed inclined to question this assertion.

"Instead of appealing to your own experience or mine," I continued, "let us go back at once to the most eminent instance of spirituality on record. You will not question that the intellectual nature of Christ was formed and perfected through the instrumentality of sense."

"Certainly."

"Nor is there more room to doubt that his spiritual nature was developed by the same means. Extraordinary as was his illumination, immeasurable as was the depth of inspiration imparted, we have no ground for supposing that the influences of sensible objects were, even in his case, dispensed with. Bodily as well as mental suffering conduced to his perfection. Human affections, doubtless originating in the usual ministrations of a mother's love and a father's watchfulness, trained his mind to a higher species of filial duty; and as he taught, so he must previously have learned, lessons of divine wisdom from the flowers of the earth and the storms of the sky. Above all, we know that prayer, private and social prayer, audible and secret, prayer at the grave of a friend, blessing at the breaking of bread, were his accustomed methods of nourishing devotion in himself, as well as exciting it in others."

"But do you not suppose that all this was in condescension to the weakness of others?"

"By no means. How should we thus account for the hours spent in private devotion, and for the absence of all intimation that religion may subsist without aliment, which in a Gospel intended to serve a more enlightened age, would not have been omitted?"

"And yet how abundant were his reproofs of formality in religion! The ablutions of the Pharisees, the sanctimonious observances of the Sabbath, the rivalship of Jerusalem and Gerizim, and a hundred other superstitions were most perseveringly exposed and condemned by him."

"True; and in this he was followed by the apostles, as when Paul argued against the adoption of Jewish rites by the Gentiles, and wrote concerning meats offered to idols. But this condemnation was of the arbitrary relations established between things that have no natural connexion, — the indissoluble association of objects which should be joined or put asunder as expediency may direct. It has nothing to do with the point in dispute between us. That a devotional spirit may and must be instilled and preserved by means of reference to external objects we learn from the Gospel itself, from every discourse of the great Teacher, from every incident of his life."

"He is, here, scarcely a rule for us. His being was absorbed in the promotion of one object; and it cannot be expected that we who live for a different purpose should infuse the same solemnity into every action as the 'man of sorrows.'"

"I differ from you in two respects," I replied. "I believe the office of every Christian to be the same as Christ's, though no other priest is honored with the same endowments and privileged with the same powers. I think you mistaken in supposing that every word and action of our

Lord was solemn. His office imparted dignity unparalleled, and his experience of suffering must have occasioned peculiar thoughtfulness of demeanour; but when I read his parables, his familiar allusions to passing circumstances when I learn that he sought the society of a family who were certainly not withdrawn from the petty cares of daily life, I cannot but think that his cheerfulness was congenial with that of his associates, and that the peculiarity of his office was not always obtruded. When he took children in his arms, he probably adapted his words to their capacities; and at the moment when he drew nigh the vessel on the surface of the waves, it is hardly probable that Peter would have desired to go down to him if the familiarity of a companion had not been recognised in the words he uttered."

"And yet with what solemnity is every word read in your places of worship, and in your families!"

"True, and this seems to me a great mistake. All that we find in the Bible is given forth as if it had no relation to our customary objects of interest. The most awful ascriptions of glory to God, and the most familiar conversation at the social board are read in the same tone; and as far as manner can effect it, the direction to 'draw out and bear to the governor of the feast,' is made of equal importance with the command, 'after this manner pray ye.'"

"We find no notice, however, of light amusement, of the slightest approach to mirth, in the intercourses of the teacher and apostles, or even of the disciples."

"We must remember how small a part of that intercourse is recorded, and that this small portion has a relation to the permanent interests of our race. Circumstances of merely temporary interest are lost, and of this nature are the slight recreations and innocent familiarities which I

cannot suppose to have been ever banished from the intercourses of men. But I find nothing to lead me to suppose that the lives of holy men were a series of unrelaxing efforts, that their anxieties were not relieved by the transient pleasures of daily life, and their toils suspended by cheerful recreations. If I did, I should feel that their religion could never be mine."

"It has always struck me that there is an incongruity between the impetuosity of the actions of Peter and the measured solemnity with which they are spoken of."

"True; and in the mind of Paul we recognise those characteristics which are commonly combined with buoyancy of spirit and the power of perceiving unsuspected relations between different objects: and you know what is the usual result of this union."

"You mean wit. I quite agree with you: and the evident traces I find of it only point out to me how every mental qualification may be devoted to the furtherance of the highest objects."

"How is this declaration consistent with your disapprobation of giving expression to religion?"

"Circumstances have changed entirely since the times of Paul," answered L——. "He preached because the Gospel was unknown; but every man, woman, and child in this village has the Bible to learn from, and I see not why they need any other guide."

As I was about to reply, we suddenly encountered a group of visitors, and L—— turned to take his leave.

"If you will come again to the chapel," said I, "you may have the opportunity of observing whether the people are liable to imbibe any superstitions, and whether any aid is afforded to the study of their Bibles."

"I do not question their learning much," he replied, "but I doubt whether such information is necessary, and

whether more harm than good may not be done by connecting their religion with external observances."

As the time fixed for the afternoon service approached, I looked round with some anxiety to see who were appointed to preach within and without the chapel. The assemblage was as large as in the morning, and the arrangements were therefore the same as to the placing of the people. The preacher who took his station under the tree had never before addressed his present auditory, and not frequently, I imagine, any other. He was very young, his voice seemed scarcely equal to the exertion which it was necessary to make, and he wished, as I was told, to decline the duty now imposed on him, on the plea of being unprepared. His audience soon discovered, however, that a ready mind and a warm heart were a sufficient preparation. Their fixed attention encouraged him: the scene animated him; and for myself, I can answer, that I was conscious of no stray thoughts but an occasional wish that L—— might be within hearing.

The dedication of the Temple by Solomon was the portion of Scripture read, and this also formed the subject of the discourse. After briefly explaining the causes of the peculiar sanctity by which the temple at Jerusalem was distinguished from all other places of worship, and relating the overthrow of the glories of the last noble edifice, the preacher fixed the attention of his hearers on the fact that the worshippers of the sanctuary were accustomed to offer their devotions without a superstitious regard to place and circumstance. Though an edifice, consecrated by a manifestation of the Divine presence, was appointed for their homage, that homage was to be offered elsewhere, as before; and when the Hebrews were struggling in battle, pining in captivity, or engaged in the daily duties of their distant homes, their devotion was not to be suspended, but

rather animated, by their periodical returns to the mercy-seat. The application was obvious, but not therefore the less interesting, or the less adapted to the audience. Here, as in every other corner of the world, each man knows best the plague of his own heart; here (as "there is no man that sinneth not") there are careless transgressions, followed by grief and supplication; here, as elsewhere, there are inward rejoicings, prompting to thankfulness, and therefore incitements to communion when the doors of the house of prayer are closed, and to supplications that God will hear from heaven, his dwelling-place, and hearing, forgive. The services of this new and humble temple were, therefore, never to supersede the offices of private, the obligation to perpetual devotion; and however highly and justly the opportunities of social worship might be prized, they should be made to nourish rather than relax the disposition to watch over and feed the hidden flame of devotion, which needs to be tended day by day, and hour by hour.

The illustrations of this duty were drawn from the familiar but not coarse details of the usual events in the lives of the hearers, and of their common occupations, and were so pointed that they could scarcely fail of recurring with the recurrence of the day. The father's irksome toil, the mother's midnight watch, the weariness of sickness, the first expansion of a parent's hopes, the inward complacency of self-conquest were touched upon as occasions for devotion, which could not be supplied by the services of social worship; which institution was only appointed as one of the means to a most important end.

"Is there any superstition here?" said I to L——, on joining him after the service, of which he had been a witness.

"Surprisingly little for so young and so ardent a preacher," he replied. "But though he may be able to distinguish

between what is essential and what is accessory, one cannot expect that his hearers should, unless led directly to it as they were to-day."

I had looked round in vain for Edwards, whom I now ascertained not to have been present at the afternoon service. He was gone to the house of mourning. A young couple in the village were hourly awaiting the death of their only child, an infant; and Edwards had visited them in the hope of administering comfort. He did not join any of the parties of strangers who prepared for their departure as soon as the afternoon service was closed; and it was supposed that he would follow early in the morning.

It was interesting to witness the unusual bustle which pervaded the village this day. The hospitable inhabitants hastened the evening meal that the strangers might not be benighted on their return. The men saddled the horses and prepared the carriages, while their wives spread the table; and all were liberal in their invitations to their guests to come again whenever they should be disposed to honor the place with their presence. The inhabitants, almost in a body, accompanied those of the young men who returned on foot, and did not leave them till they quitted the valley, when the final greetings were exchanged. I proceeded a few miles further in company with one or two friends. When we reached the ridge of the last hill from which the village was visible, we turned to look back once more. The sun was setting, and the shadows had already gathered round the dwellings, and settled beneath the clump of trees which sheltered the meeting-house. Scattered groups of people were seen at various distances along the winding road, and some who had taken a shorter path through the fields had already arrived at their homes, as we knew by the lights which here and there twinkled through the windows. The little chapel, which but a short

time before had been filled and surrounded by busy throngs, now presented a beautiful picture of repose. No grave-stone as yet arose within its green enclosure. It had this day been hallowed by the spirit of devotion; but it was a glad and kindly spirit, not yet saddened by mementos of mortality. I could easily interpret the pleasure which shone in the countenances of my companions, as they looked back and beheld their work, and anticipated the time when the office on which they were entering should enable them to build up nobler, and sanctify indestructible temples to the service of their Lord.

It was quite dark when I reëntered the valley. As the night was warm, and the day had been one of unusual excitement and fatigue, I sauntered slowly on my way. I quitted the road for the fields, and when about half a mile from the village, arrived in front of a poor cottage. I had not been aware that I was approaching a dwelling, till, on turning a corner, I saw a bright gleam from the open door and unshuttered window reflected in the pool below. The circumstance of the door standing wide seemed to give me liberty to look in as I passed; and having looked in, I could not but stop. A young woman, whose countenance, though now composed, bore traces of many tears, was sitting on the side of a bed on which lay an infant, as I supposed, asleep. The husband was leaning over the table, shading his face with his hand. Edwards was there, and at the moment of my approach he was putting on his spectacles and opening the Bible which lay before him. Another glance at the child and a moment's consideration convinced me that its sleep was the repose of death, and added to the deep interest with which I listened to the words which Edwards read, and the observations which he afterwards made. The story of the Shunammite woman was naturally his choice, and he then read a few verses from the 18th of

Matthew, explaining at their close that trust in the Giver of life is no less a duty now than in those remarkable times when the spirit was occasionally revived in the lifeless body, and that the assurance that no little one is forgotten by God ought to sustain the submissive spirit under the loss of a child, though the bereavement may be more painful than that of a limb or a sense. When he proposed prayer, I hastened away, but lingered within sight of the cottage in the hope that Edwards might come out and join me, which he soon did.

"This has not been a day of unmixed happiness to you, my good friend," said I.

"Which of our days are so, Sir? Joy and mourning go hand in hand through life."

"The grave-yard of your chapel will be occupied almost as soon as its doors are opened."

"Yes, Sir. The child will be buried on Sunday. I supposed that some grey head would have been laid there first, and not the very youngest among us."

"I hope you have left comfort behind you," said I: and I told him what I had seen.

"At times like these, Sir," he replied, "one may have more hope of doing good than when life runs smooth. The minds of these people are weary and their spirits weak, and they are ready to follow any friendly voice, and to listen to any kind words."

"A friend of mine," said I, "who thinks that religion ought to be solely between a man and his God, might perhaps think differently, if he had been with you now."

"No doubt, Sir, there is much in every man's heart which is known only to his God; and I feel very sure that religion may be kept alive by communion with him alone; but I judge, from all that I can understand and observe, that it is also intended to be a social bond. If it had not

been, I should think our duty would have been set down for us in some regular form, like a code of laws, and not conveyed in such various ways as we find it."

"True," said I. "There are not many distinct propositions in the holy law. It is not a formal collection of precepts: and it seems to me that some of its most important instructions are to be gathered from parables and conversations; and that its highest truths are to be inferred, and not merely read and allowed."

"I think so, Sir; and surely people who take a common interest in these things can help one another to discover these truths. As long as men have a different experience and different views, they may help one another to understand their duty, as well as encourage each other to practise it. If we look upon it as a matter of feeling, it is yet more clear how one mind may comfort and aid another. These poor people would, I doubt not, have prayed and turned to their Bible, this night. But if each had done so in solitude, they might not have been able to compose their minds so soon, or they might not have found so great a variety of consolations as now that a friend, less deeply afflicted, has thought for them and felt with them; and I trust God has blessed our united prayers, as he will bless their solitary communion with him."

"Or as I trust he will bless the devotions of the congregation on the Sabbath. I suppose you will adapt your service to the occasion."

"I shall, Sir. For the sake of the people, as well as the mourners, it is desirable that no such occasion should be lost."

On the Sunday morning, the parents and friends repaired from the burial-ground to the chapel, where Edwards addressed the congregation in his usual style of "primitive preaching." In consequence of the frequent renewal of

our conversation, I found little difficulty in persuading L —— to accompany me. From his habitual command of countenance, I could form little judgment of what was passing within; but if he marked, as I did, the general spread of a kindly sympathy; if he noted with what seriousness the fathers looked upon their children, with what tenderness the mothers pressed their infants to their bosoms; if he approved the reverent stillness of the people, and the quietness with which they dispersed to their homes, he must have seen that (whatever be the abuses of the practice) it is good for men to meet in the house of God; and he might have been convinced that, however sacred is the communion between the spirit and its Father, a relation of spiritual brotherhood also exists between man and man.

REVIEWS.

DEMONOLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT.*

CAN any body tell where Sir Walter Scott has been since he last met the public? Will Mr. Lockhart avouch that he has not found his way after Dante to Tartarus? Will Mr Murray declare that he has not been up to the moon to gather matter for the Family Library? It may be that he has only had a legacy of some of Faust's folios but something has happened to open his eyes upon the living population of a world which we had wrongly imagined to have tumbled back into chaos long ago. Considering the marvels he has to relate, we can but admire his condescension in choosing so humble a vehicle as No. XVI. of the Family Library. Here we have tidings of the fallen angels who loved this world too well; of Satan himself, and his dealings with Job, and of the bodily jeopardy of Peter when the Evil One desired to have him that he might sift him like wheat. Yet more; Sir Walter has found up Ithuriel's spear somewhere, and brought it back with him; and lo! the Heathen gods of all ages and nations before the Christian era start up into their true shape. We have

* The Family Library. No. XVI. Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft. By Sir Walter Scott, Bart. Murray. 1830.

been wrong all this time in supposing them mere wood and stone, squatting and grinning in India, speaking oracles in Greece, and working wonders in Egypt, according to the will of workman and priest; it appears that they were the habitations of fallen angels, or at least that we may believe them to have been so. Milton had found this out before, but he only touched upon the matter in an ode. Sir Walter thinks that it is time so important a fact should be made known to the multitude in plain prose. Next we light upon a valuable hint to the faculty. The "peculiar and dreadful disorder" of Demoniacal possession has never, it appears, been properly understood. Surely it is time it should; and if our physicians should urge that the lapse of time has deprived them of the means of ascertaining the true nature of the malady, let them be told that if Sir Walter Scott can teach us about the fallen angels who lived here 5000 years ago, they ought to be ashamed if they cannot make a theory about a disease which was common only twenty centuries since. We must do our author the justice to offer his data in his own words. Having described how the evil spirits, who inspired the oracles, and appropriated the Heathen temples, were driven from their earthly abodes by the appearance of Christ, he proceeds,

"It must be noticed, however, that this great event had not the same effect on that peculiar class of fiends who were permitted to vex mortals by the alienation of their minds, and the abuse of their persons, in the cases of what is called Demoniacal possession. In what exact sense we should understand the word *possession*, it is impossible to discover; but we feel it impossible to doubt, (notwithstanding learned authorities to the contrary,) that it was a dreadful disorder of a kind not merely natural; and may be pretty well assured that it was suffered to continue after the incarnation, because the miracles effected by our Saviour and his apostles, in curing those tormented in this way, afforded the most direct

proofs of his divine mission, even out of the very mouths of those ejected fiends, the most malignant enemies of a power to which they dared not refuse homage and obedience."—p. 70.

The final cause of the temptation in the wilderness, as well as its true nature, is at length ascertained.

"It must also be admitted that in another most remarkable respect, the power of the enemy of mankind was rather enlarged than bridled or restrained, in consequence of the Saviour coming upon earth. It is indisputable, that in order that Jesus might have his share in every species of delusion and persecution which the fallen race of Adam is heir to, he personally suffered the temptation in the wilderness at the hand of Satan, whom, without resorting to his divine power, he drove, confuted, silenced and shamed, from his presence. But it appears, that although Satan was allowed, upon this memorable occasion, to come on earth with great power, *the permission was given expressly because his time was short. The indulgence which was then granted to him in a case so unique and peculiar* soon passed over, and was utterly restrained. It is evident that after the lapse of the period, during which it pleased the Almighty to establish his own church by miraculous displays of power, it could not consist with his kindness and wisdom to leave the enemy in the possession of the privilege of deluding men by imaginary miracles, calculated for the perversion of that faith, which real miracles were no longer present to support." &c. &c.—p. 71.

Our author is led to these speculations by the desire to ascertain whether the sin of witchcraft, as understood in modern times, is denounced as punishable in Scripture. His conclusion is that the sin denounced in the Mosaic law, and practised clandestinely by the personage at Endor, is something quite different from the imputed crime which till a very late period in the history of civilized countries has occasioned such gross perversions of justice, and so appalling a waste of life. It is a pity that such an inquiry should

be entered upon with a grossly superstitious assumption, and should be pursued in a spirit of credulity which we should have supposed the influence of such enlightened society and intellectual exercise as our author has been accustomed to, must have exorcised long ago. The most surprising thing, however, is that he has actually laid hold of the true philosophy of Demonology, and lets it go again without being apparently aware of its value. His first chapter, if expanded as it might have been, would have stood himself and the public in good stead of all that follows, and would have furnished a perfect explanation of every well-attested ghost-story extant. We have no hesitation in saying that the philosophy of apparitions has come out luminous and indisputable from the facts which have, within a few years, been brought together by philosophical inquirers, some of whom were themselves subject to spectral illusions. If our author had gathered the fruits of their labors, suppressing his own reveries on the Bible, he might have presented the public with a volume of deep and general interest, instead of a desultory collection of amusing tales. Elegant as are his sketches of the prevailing superstitions of various countries, and entertaining as are most of his narratives, we feel, when we come to the end, that the thing is spoiled, and that the first chapter is the only part we shall desire to glance at a second time. It should have been otherwise in a case where the favorable attention of every mind is secured by the very mention of the subject: for where is there one of a more universal interest?

Who has not longed to behold a departed spirit? Emotions of awe, of dread, may be connected with every conception of spiritual communion; but the grief of the mourner, (and who has not mourned?) the curiosity of the speculator, (and who has not speculated?) the yearnings, the questionings of the unsatisfied spirit all unite in send-

ing an appeal into the invisible world. The bereaved parent, whose sleep is startled by tones, hushed in the grave, but coming back upon the ear with living power, wakes to a deeper grief than the sunshine can witness; and while watching the stars out, looks, almost with expectation, for some shadow crossing the grey dawn, or listens for some whisper borne on the morning breeze, some manifestation of a presence which he cannot but believe to exist. The philosopher, who flings aside his book as his lamp expires, and betakes himself to his own speculations for satisfaction which he cannot find elsewhere, is prepared by every inquisition into the secrets of the grave for the perception of an immaterial presence, and longs for nerve to ask where he may have an answer. Every stirring intellect, every spirit which is haunted by remembrances and imaginings is anxious to invest them with a form, to realize them in a sound, and by embodying to perpetuate them. Such an inclination may be called universal, because where there is mind, there is curiosity, more or less, about things pertaining to the world of mind, — things absent, unseen, or future. The inclination may be overpowered by associations of terror, but it is sooner or later experienced by minds of every class.

It is an unquestionable fact that a belief in the immortality of the soul is prevalent in every nation on the face of the earth. It matters little whether the belief arose from a primary revelation spread by tradition, or from the efforts of reason in few reflective minds, or from the natural process of association in all. The belief exists; and with it is connected an idea of the relation of the future life to the present; of the perpetuity of the interests which occupy us here. The union of these notions with the natural curiosity about things unseen occasions the conception of spiritual communion. Nothing seems more natural than

that those disembodied spirits who love should communicate with the survivors who mourn; that the murdered should use their power to appal the murderer; that the wise should return to instruct the ignorant. That such a notion is unsanctioned by true philosophy is, however, clear from the diversity of views which has ever prevailed respecting the appearance of departed spirits.

An immaterial existence cannot be susceptible of the changes which attend the mortal state. It cannot be modified by the influences which give its hues, and shades, and forms to human life. Varieties of age and country cannot extend to spiritual beings; yet the records of their visits to earth present a perfect accordance with the characteristics of the age, the peculiarities of the country, and the superstitions of the individual visited. No glorified saint ever appeared to a North American Indian; nor a Scandinavian warrior to a Trappist or an Italian nun. Nor have ghosts been even divested of external character, or stripped of the non-essentials which they must have left in the grave. They have ever appeared, not only in the costume of their country, and speaking the language of their time, (which might be supposed necessary to their communication with mortals,) but unredeemed from the ignorance and prejudices common to them and their beholders. Their very choice of the sense through which they manifest themselves is in accordance with the predispositions of those with whom they communicate. The savage who is wont to anticipate the storm by the muttering of the heavens and the roar of the forest, who tracks his prey by the cracking of the branches, and detects an ambush by the sound of low breathings lost to unpractised ears, recognises a spirit in the sighings of the breeze or the tumult of the tempest. The mountaineer, who makes the highest neighbouring peak his barometer, sees in the rolling mists the drapery, in the scudding cloud

the chariot of some visitor, who descended on a sunbeam and will fade into invisibility with the rainbow. The ghosts of Greeks were crowned with bays and laurels, of Druids with oak, of savages with feathers, of saints with a glory. The spear, the bow, or the cross were presented, according as the seers were warriors, hunters, or monks. The warnings given were sometimes of an ambush of cannibals, sometimes of the wrath of gods, sometimes of a secret murder. Amidst all this variety of manifestation, no common principle is apparent — no one attribute of immateriality — no credentials to sanction the mission or dignify the agent. Every thing connected with the appearance was earthly, though the attributes might be strangely conjoined. The form might or might not be gigantic; the substance might or might not be translucent; the voice might be low or powerful, the tread noiseless or heavy. Still familiar attributes were all. There was no evidence of spirituality, which was undoubtedly possible, if the manifestation itself was spiritual. The dreamers, like Nebuchadnezzar, saw an image compounded of a variety of substances never thus conjoined by nature, but all material, all furnished to the imagination by experience.

Though these manifestations were connected by no common quality which attested their supernatural origin, their universality must be accounted for on some one principle. A belief which has subsisted in all ages and nations must have a common foundation. Such a principle we have already suggested in the fact that every mind, from the grandest which has awed the world, down to the meanest which is at home only among objects of sense, has a reach beyond the present. The eager urchins, who toss halfpence on a tombstone, are as much the watchers of an unseen power as the astrologer at midnight in his high tower. The same emotion kindles them and absorbs

him — the same longing to recognise somewhat beyond that which the eye beholds. What they call luck, he calls fate; but all are equally intent on something real, though invisible, inaudible, intangible. By this pervading desire the gypsey thrives, and the wise woman looks through the twilight for approaching visitors. Through this desire do friends clasp hands, when they agree that he who first departs shall visit him who survives. Nor is it prevalent in one country or continent more than another. The very modes in which it is gratified bear a strong resemblance all over the world. Games of chance are played with shells and pebbles where there is no coin; and wise women have tents in the deserts of Asia: and if gypsies have not yet traversed the globe, their trade is followed wherever the foot of man is planted.

Another cause of the general persuasion into whose origin we are inquiring, is — actual experience of apparitions; not of ghosts or departed spirits, but of apparitions. This fact being fully ascertained furnishes a humbling proof of how all the world may, through its own fault, be wrong in a point in which all the world has an interest in being right. Truly, in this case, the philosopher has had very little the advantage of the clown; and the scornful laugh of the one has been nearly as irrational as the tremors of the other. There has been much folly, as well as cruelty, in the triumphs of the wise over the ignorant; for argument is of no avail against experience, and no ridicule can remove conviction.

Reasoning from the mere belief of the relation of this life to another, prior to all investigations into the nature and properties of spirit and matter, there appears a strong probability that the souls of the departed may have the power of re-appearing on the earth. Researches into the philosophy of the soul destroy this probability. Do ghosts appear as matter or spirit? Not as matter, for agents are

at work, from the moment of death, to effect irremediable changes in the corporeal form. Look into the grave, and see what chemical affinities have done with form and feature, and the substance which composed them. Bone without muscle, or a shapeless mass destitute of either, is all that can be found. A material ghost can only appear by means of a miracle — by an express re-creation of the human form, which would thus be no longer called a ghost, but a man raised from the dead. Such a possibility is not urged by ghost-seers, who rather testify to having seen, heard, or felt, a spirit. But in thus testifying, they show that they know neither what spirit is nor what it is not. Our only notions of spirit are negative. We conceive that it is what matter is not: that it has no extension, and therefore cannot be seen; no hardness, and therefore cannot be heard; no solidity, and therefore cannot be smelt, tasted, or felt. There is no reason for believing that spirit cannot act upon matter; but we may safely declare that it cannot, as spirit, act through any of the five senses: and the reason why so many believe that it may, is, that they misconceive the nature of spirit supposing it to be etherealized matter. The philosopher is safe in his conclusion that as the material frame cannot be renovated, and as the spiritual one is not recognisable by the senses, the dead do not appear to the living; but what avails his reasoning, however sound, against the stubborn experience of an objector who declares that he has seen forms invisible to others, so distinctly as to be unable to choose between the apparition and the reality? The philosopher, when he has exhausted his arguments, internally pronounces his opponent a fool or a madman; while the bystanders, who know him to be neither the one nor the other, admit his testimony, and the matter rests where it did before.

If this natural philosopher should meet with a moral philosopher, the argument may be renewed on another ground. The one declares that no human testimony shall make him believe that which science shows to be impossible. The other argues that there are impossibilities in the mental as well as the physical world; and that he cannot admit such a moral miracle as the falsehood of such a concurrence of testimony as has been always held sufficient to settle any other doubtful question. Both are unaware of any middle course by which the difficulties of both creeds may be avoided; and, again, the matter rests where it did before.

It is true, no evidence can be less satisfactory than much, once received as conclusive, respecting supernatural appearances. The faults of this testimony may be easily pointed out, without impeaching its honesty. The witnesses were usually wrought on by deceptive arts, or by a misinterpretion of natural appearances. The few individuals who, by skill or accident, had anticipated scientific facts now generally known, turned their knowledge to profitable account by imposing on the imaginations of the ignorant many. Optical and acoustic illusions, assisted by well-chosen appeals to the inferior senses, seduced a multitude from their sobriety of judgment, and made them false witnesses in their own despite. A man suddenly visited by an image of the Evil One, complete in the horrors of horns, feet, and tail, might close his eyes, and (knowing nothing of magic lanterns) endeavour to persuade himself for a moment that his sight had deceived him; but if a sulphureous odor, and the roar of flames were at the same time perceptible, how should he resist the conviction that he was in the presence of his Satanic majesty? The impression must be yet more forcible if the appearance be expected, and the mind wrought up by fear and intent observation. Ben-

venuto Cellini records, with all good faith, his experience of a trial of Necromancy, by which an absent person was to be compelled to appear, and from whom intelligence was actually obtained. Devils appeared in legions; and amidst such shadows, flames, and smoke, that it is pretty clear the illusion was produced by figures from a magic lantern, displayed on the vapors arising from burning perfumes. The vindicators of the doctrine of supernatural appearances, if such there be, may well afford to relinquish testimony of this nature, though the witnesses must decamp by thousands.

A deception quite as common, and wholly innocent, has, in numberless instances, arisen from a misinterpretation of natural appearances. The shepherd, leading his sheep to the downs on a sultry morning, sends a glance over the ocean, and sees no sail, but is startled by the image of an inverted ship in the clouds. He believes it a spectre. The forest-ranger sees gleams of light for whose origin he cannot account, playing on the stems and foliage of distant trees. They proceed from some hidden, glistening pool; but to his alarmed imagination, they present a bodily shape, and he reports of a troop of spiritual hunters, coursing with the rapidity of lightning. The simple Vaudois, returning home as the twilight draws on, meditating on the wrongs of some martyred ancestor, casts his eyes upwards to some crag where a pine, laden with snow, nods to the blast. The mountaineer enters his cottage, awed, yet elated in soul, with a tale of the appearance of a spirit, waving a white banner on the steep. The story of the Giant of the Brocken is known to all: that he manifested himself only among the mists on the mountain top; that his majestic form was seen by a multitude of successive visitors; that gesture and sound were attributed to him, with a variety of superhuman powers; that he maintained

his influence over the popular mind for a length of years, till it was discovered that he imitated his beholders in actions so peculiar that an inquiry into his nature was courageously and successfully instituted, when it appeared that this grandest of ghosts was no more than a highly-magnified reflection of the human figure in a mist. The far-famed spectre of the Hartz became as powerless to terrify as the flitting image of the human face in a glass. The ghost-seers, who live among mists and storms, or in the depths of forests, are suspicious witnesses; and their testimony can well be spared.

The power of association is a principal agent in the cases of which we have last spoken; and from it, another large class is formed. If the operations of this faculty had not been closely investigated by diligent inquirers, we should not yet have obtained any adequate conception of the nature of its influence; or have been emancipated from the superstitions which it has originated. We speak at present of only one common effect of its influence — that by which the perception of a part of any thing suggests the idea of the whole. Children love to twirl lighted sticks, and gratify their eyes with a circle of fire. There is, in reality, no more a circle of fire than if the spark was stationary; but the most practised eye cannot detect the precise point at which the light arrives at each successive moment. Sing the first bar of God save the King, and what individual in the United Kingdom can help carrying it on? Show to the infant of a few months the head only of any animal in the picture of a farmyard, and he will neigh, bray, bleat, or grunt, accordingly. The sculptor who gazes on any fragment of the Elgin marbles has the entire figure before his mind's eye. How many entire ghosts have thus presented themselves from the mere fragments of resemblance to the human form! How many

gleams of moonlight, how many nodding twigs, how many scudding clouds have inspired needless terror!

The ear, though not so much exposed to imperfect impressions as the eye, is frequently the instrument of deception. Every one knows the story of the creaking sign-board, whose sound was mistaken for the voice of the murdered barber. The ventriloquist succeeds by a deception of a similar kind. Loftier emotions are excited by sounds more remote and mysterious. The rumblings of a volcano, the mutterings which precede an earthquake, the moaning, the sighing, the swelling and dying murmurs of the imprisoned winds beneath the surface of the frozen lakes of America, have naturally caused the impression that departed spirits were groaning in torment, or mourning the approaching woes of their race, or wafting their wild music to the listening souls of survivors. If Dr. Johnson, in one of his paroxysms of superstition, had been placed on the margin of one of these lakes, by moonlight and in solitude, what a stupendous effort would have been needful to support his dignity amidst the suspense of expectation! One day at Oxford, he tells us, as he was turning the key of his chamber, he heard his mother (who was then at Litchfield) distinctly calling "*Sam.*" He, of course, expected woful tidings of her; but — "nothing ensued." Dr. Johnson was a powerful auxiliary to the party of ghost-expectants, (we do not hear of any experience of apparitions,) but his impressions carry no authority with them in this case; for the plain reasons that, as his senses were obtuse, he was peculiarly liable to deception; and that, from early and prolonged influences, he was remarkably prone to superstition. While we reject his arguments, we will pay him the compliment of dismissing him in company with one whose opinions he valued exceedingly — Sir Thomas Brown. The latter-mentioned philosopher has said more in defence

of supernatural appearances than, perhaps, Johnson himself; but from a totally opposite bias. He was as sceptical as Johnson was superstitious; and being ever inclined to indulge his fine imagination with all pure and elegant images, he was willing to admit even a "vulgar error," provided it could introduce ideas that were not vulgar. No doubt his fancy revelled in Spenser's speculation on tutelary angels.

> "How oft do they their silver bowers leave
> To come and succour us that succour want!
> How oft do they with golden pinions cleave
> The flitting skies, like flying pursuivant,
> Against foul fiends to aid us militant!
> They for us fight, they watch and duly ward,
> And their bright squadrons round about us plant,
> And all for love, and nothing for reward:
> O why should heavenly God to man have such regard?"

This, to Sir Thomas Brown, would supersede all argument on a subject of speculation, and induce him to express himself as follows:

"Therefore, for spirits, I am so far from denying their existence, that I could easily believe that not only whole countries, but particular persons, have their tutelary and guardian angels. It is not a new opinion of the Church of Rome, but an old one of Pythagoras and Plato. There is no heresy in it, and if not manifestly defined in Scripture, yet it is an opinion of a good and wholesome use in the course of actions of a man's life, and would serve as an hypothesis to solve many doubts, whereof common philosophy affordeth no solution."

We might have ranked Sir Walter Scott with the author of the Religio Medici if he had lived two centuries earlier, and if, moreover, he had not shown, in his attempts to philosophize on Demonology, that he had the means of being wiser than he has chosen to be.

However clear it may be to the philosopher that departed spirits cannot return in a visible form, however numerous may be the cases of deception, a weighty body of testimony to the reality of apparitions has always subsisted, — testimony so various, so distinct, so extensive, as would in no less difficult case have been questioned. If many credulous persons have seen spectres, so have some sceptics; if many weak minds have been troubled by shadows, so have not a few strong ones; if madmen have been admitted in crowds to explore the secrets of the grave, many sane have been startled by glimpses into the unseen world. Though individual testimony is all that can be obtained, (since there is no satisfactory evidence that the same apparition has been seen by two or more persons at one time,) no suspicions of artifice, no supposition of insanity, will explain one-half of the well-attested cases of spectral appearance. The imagination may have exaggerated, the judgment may have misinterpreted; but it is unquestionable that distinct shapes of departed friends have been presented to the bodily eye, and well-remembered tones addressed to the ear, while the seer was awake in the broad sunshine, and, at the moment, thinking of nothing less than the person to whom the shape and voice belonged. At length, the question has been met as it deserves. A few strong minds, themselves subject to spectral impressions, have had the courage to investigate and publish their own cases, and have thus thrown light on the most mysterious class of facts on record. When the results of such inquiries become generally known, it will be matter of as much surprise as grief, that some of the most afflicting evils of humanity should have had such an origin: that madness, from being presupposed, should have become real; and that life and its enjoyments should have been forfeited for want of knowing a physical fact which there now appears no difficulty in ascertaining.

The common method adopted by the subjects of spectral illusions has been to make ready to die. Happily a different course was practised by Nicolai, the philosophical seer of Berlin. The first appearance which he beheld was that of a deceased person. It is well for society that he did not immediately resign himself to death, and leave the world through a mistake. If he had forthwith settled his accounts, ordered his coffin, and lain down on a sofa to watch his breathing and feel his pulse, his experience might have served to adorn a tale, but would not have enriched the records of science. He might have been interesting as a sentimentalist, but not, as now, as a philosophical hero. His widow might have marvelled and wept till she was prepared to see and follow his "beck'ning ghost;" but she probably found it a much better thing to assist in recollecting and recording the facts for the benefit of society, and to be a wife instead of a widow. So few cases described with similar accuracy are on record, that we are compelled, at the risk of fatiguing our readers with a repetition of a well-known tale, to relate the principal facts. This shall be done, however, as briefly as possible; those points only being touched upon which are essential to the confirmation of the doctrine we are about to propose.

In February, 1791, Nicolai, the well-known author and bookseller of Berlin, saw, for the first time, an apparition. He had been subjected to a series of agitations which had affected his health to an extent of which he and his family were unaware till some time afterwards. His wife was with him one morning, when he beheld, at the distance of about ten paces, the figure of a person some time deceased. On his calling his wife's attention to it, she was, of course, much alarmed, and sent immediately for a physician, who ascribed the delusion to strong mental emotion, and hoped there would be no return. At four in the afternoon, how-

ever, the same form re-appeared, while the patient was alone. He went to his wife's apartment, the phantom preceding him, occasionally disappearing, but, while visible, always retaining the same standing posture. About two hours after, several walking figures appeared which had no connexion with the first. After this time, spectres thronged in crowds round the patient, who, if he had lived two centuries earlier, would infallibly have been burnt for sorcery, admitting probably the justice of his sentence. These phantoms represented both strangers and acquaintance, both living and dead persons: many more strangers than acquaintance; many more living than dead. The persons with whom he daily conversed were never thus idealized. The apparitions intruded themselves at all times, but not equally in all places. By night and by day, in solitude and in society, the patient was subject to their visits; but they were more numerous in his own house than in any other, and rarely appeared in the street. Sometimes, but not always, they vanished when the eyes were closed. Horses, dogs, and birds at length joined company with the human phantoms; and the latter also began to speak, sometimes to each other, but more commonly to their reluctant host. Consolatory words from dear friends at a distance often mingled with the discourse of persons actually present: and these words harmonized with the melancholy thoughts which were still predominant in the mind of the patient. These delusions soon became so familiar that they did not occasion the slightest uneasiness. It had been Nicolai's practice to lose blood two or three times annually; but the precaution had been omitted for some months previous to the appearance of the spectres. In April, when they had haunted him for more than two months, bleeding was resorted to, as it surely ought to have been some time before. During the operation, at eleven in the forenoon,

the chamber was crowded with human phantoms, which remained till after four o'clock. They then began to move more slowly, and to fade in hue, till, by seven o'clock, they were entirely white. They moved very little, though their forms were perfectly distinct. They grew more obscure, but not fewer in number, as was usually the case. Nor did they, as usual, withdraw or vanish, but seemed to dissolve in the air, while fragments continued visible for a considerable time. About eight, they had wholly and finally disappeared. The sensation of their approach was occasionally felt afterwards by the patient, though they were never again visible. This sensation surprised him while looking over his notes of the case, preparatory to drawing up the account which he subsequently published.

In this case, it is observable that visible impressions were presented in a greater profusion, at an earlier and for a longer period than audible, and that ideas of touch were not excited at all. Such is usually the fact, though in some few instances voices alone are the object of terror. In no one case does it appear that the sense of touch is alone affected. This fact goes far to prove that apparitions are the result of natural though unusual workings in our own frame. Our visible ideas are by far the most numerous, and the least connected with those belonging to the other senses. Sounds, on the contrary, rarely reach us unaccompanied by some visible object, and tangible bodies are, with few exceptions, presented to the sight at the same time with the touch. It appears, therefore, that the largest class of our ideas furnishes the greatest number of phantoms; and the smallest class the smallest number. No instances are on record, we believe, of supernatural manifestations through the two inferior senses. We suppose that the blind and the deaf must have been subject to spectral illusions, in common with others: and it is much to be wished that their

experience were known. It may, perhaps, be pretty confidently predicted. The blind from birth would find that ghosts are much less etherealized than they are represented by ghost-seers in general. The spirit would not beckon or shake the head, as usual; but accommodating its action to the infirmity of the witness, would lead by the hand. It would also not wait to be first addressed, according to the most orthodox superstition; but would make known its presence by a call. With the deaf, on the contrary, spirits would communicate by signs, possibly by so vulgar a medium as the finger alphabet. We hope that such experience will ere long be supplied. If it should prove, however, that it is not to be obtained from the large class of which we speak, and that they are not subject to the intrusion of ghosts, we may be furnished with the means of judging how far a predisposition for the marvellous influences the common cases of illusion. The totally blind and deaf are usually remarkably exempt from fear; and though it is not to be supposed that they are free from deceptions of the senses, it would be interesting to ascertain how small is the relative proportion of ghost-seers among their body. The dreams of those who have recently lost a sense are known to represent the ideas belonging to that sense with peculiar vividness. The blind dream of gay parterres, gleaming lakes, rolling and shifting clouds, or the spirit-moving glances of the human eye: while the deaf are entranced by the breathings of an Æolian harp, or soothed by the lapse of waters, or agitated by the mutterings of a storm. Probably a ghost would appear to the one class in lightning, to the other in thunder; to the one its form would be bright, to the other its tones melodious. The visible impressions in the one instance, and the audible in the other, would be vivified more remarkably than in common cases. There

is exquisite truth in Milton's vision of his deceased wife who

> "Came vested all in white, pure as her mind
> Her face was veiled, yet to my fancied sight
> Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shined
> So clear as in no face with more delight.
> But O, as to embrace me she inclined,
> I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night."

No incident could display more address, a more intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of sensibility than the description of the scenery from Dover cliff, in Lear. Edgar's object was so to excite Gloster's imagination as to make him the subject of a bold deception; and the mode he adopted to intoxicate his mind, was the best he could have chosen. Visual ideas were exalted to their utmost intensity by suggestions of the ocean, the ships and boats, the birds and the solitary human figure scarce distinguishable. Audible perceptions are also appealed to (but less forcibly) by the concluding image of the "murmuring surge;" and amidst this tumult of agitating conceptions, it might well happen that the sense of touch might be grossly deceived. The same method is used to obviate suspicion after the pretended fall. A terrific image was immediately presented of a fiend with eyes like two full moons, and other attributes equally exaggerated. This fictitious scene is as true to nature as Milton's actual dream.

The greater number of our ideas is compounded from, and all are originated by, sensations. Impressions are actually produced upon the nerves by the reaction of the ideas which were communicated through those nerves. Of these impressions we are conscious in so many cases, that it is a fair presumption that they exist in all; and that the most abstract meditations exert some degree of nervous influence as well as the simplest ideas of sensation, though in the first case it may be too faint to be easily recognisable.

A close examination might perhaps convince us that a visible, audible, or tangible image is concerned, and may be recognised, in the most abstract idea which we are capable of forming. The mathematician makes almost as much use of visible images as the painter; and the metaphysician is not only compelled to use pictorial language, but to conceive, as well as illustrate, by means of sensible media. He feels and deplores the difficulties which thus stand in the way of abstract inquiries; but he can do little to remedy them beyond introducing the greatest possible variety of illustrations, derived from the ideas of all the senses in turn. It is better to do this than to flatter himself with the hope of a philosophical vocabulary of abstract terms, with which it seems as improbable that we should be furnished as that the totally blind and deaf should be gifted with visible and audible ideas by some compassionate ghost.

The simple ideas which are deposited by sensation, or the compound ideas which are formed by association from the simple ones, are awakened, recalled, or revived, by the action of certain laws of suggestion. The degree of intensity in which they present themselves depends on a multitude of varying circumstances, connected with the state of the body and mind. The idea of a running stream must have been a very different thing to Mungo Park when crossing the bridge at Peebles on a rainy November day, and when parched with thirst in the deserts of Africa: and even the very complex idea of truth must exert a widely different influence over a man when diverting himself with repartee, and when absorbed in lofty contemplation over his Bible. The commonest influences of daily life modify the force of our impressions very considerably; and it may therefore be anticipated that the peculiar operation of bodily disease and mental excitement may occasion a yet greater diversity. If impressions awakened by precisely the same means are

more powerful in the morning than at night, more agreeable after dinner than before, more distinct in solitude than in company, more correct in the light than in darkness, more animating in the sunshine than in the shade, it is perfectly conceivable that they would be deepened or changed in an indefinitely greater degree by the extraordinary excitements of disease.

Disease of every kind and degree affects the brain, as the nerves which overspread the whole body transmit their various impressions to the substance in which they originate. If those parts of the brain only are affected which are not peculiarly connected with the visual or acoustic nerves, pain is produced, but no hallucination. If the whole brain be disturbed, delirium is the consequence. If the portion connected with the optic nerve be the most exposed to disturbance, visions are seen; if the acoustic nerve be involved in the affection, unreal voices are heard. By the agitation of these nerves, former impressions are revived; and with different degrees of vividness in proportion to the force of the agitation. While new impressions are at the same time made by external objects, the revived impressions are usually so faint in comparison as to occasion no danger of delusion. When such external impressions are wanting, however, the revived ideas become so powerful as to appear like sensations. Hence the silence and darkness of night are the most favorable to spectral illusions. When the agitation becomes sufficiently strong to overpower the impressions of present objects, apparitions are seen, or unreal sounds and sensations are heard or felt. This deception may be experienced while the intellectual faculties remain entire, as in the case of Nicolai; or may involve an affection of those portions of the brain which are instrumental in the processes of comparison and judgment; in which case, delirium or absolute madness is occa-

sioned. Apparitions, then, are seen when ideas are so vivified as to overpower actual impressions; and this takes place when a strong morbid affection extends from the brain to the optic nerve: and analogous consequences ensue from agitations of the acoustic and tactual nerves.

It seldom or never happens that the entire expansion of the optic nerve, — the whole retina, is thus affected. The apparition appears surrounded with familiar objects, though it intercepts some which ought to be perceived. In order to dispel the illusion, it must be ascertained what point of the retina is thus affected, that some powerful actual sensation may be excited: that is, some bright or moving object should be placed on the very spot where the apparition stands. Dr. Hibbert gives us the case of a man who was haunted by a frightful skeleton. The medical practitioner who attended him "inquired whether at that moment his patient saw the spectre. The man immediately pointed to a corner of the room where he alleged his familiar was keeping guard. To this spot, therefore, the gentlemen walked. 'Now do you see the skeleton?' he asked. 'How can I?' was the reply, 'when you are interposed between us?' Here, then, was a satisfactory indication that the retina had been actually impressed by the imaginary phantom. Soon, however, fancy began her work again; for, with a sudden tone of exclamation which startled the philosopher himself, the man cried, 'Ay, now I see the skeleton again, for at this very moment he is peeping at me from behind your shoulders.'"

Impressions are sometimes revived in the order in which they were presented, and sometimes in a new arrangement: on which circumstance it depends whether the objects seen are familiar or strange, whether memory or imagination is made the treacherous agent of disease. Nicolai sometimes beheld the forms of friends in the throngs of ideal persons

who surrounded him: but in his case, imagination was more active than memory; strange figures were the most numerous. Though he saw absent and deceased persons, he was never haunted by those with whom he had daily intercourse; the actual impressions they produced were not overpowered by vivified ideas, as is sometimes the case, when a person who has just left the room is believed to return, or a nurse who is sitting by the fire is at the same time seen within the bed curtain. One of the most curious instances of deception is where the apparition is at first composed of elements newly combined, and is afterwards, though a mere creature of the imagination, presented by memory. Persons subject to spectral illusions have been known to recognise one or more favorite apparitions, in a series of visits, during the whole time that the morbid affection lasted. That the image of a deceased or absent friend, or of any living person, should frequently recur, is not surprising; that an imaginary image should do so, is a proof that the first illusive impression must have been very powerful.

The narrative which is given in the fifteenth volume of Nicholson's Philosophical Journal, by a writer who was capable of reasoning on his own experience of spectral illusion, not only throws light on the general subject of apparitions, but affords some means of comparison of the proportionate strength of recent and remote ideal impressions; while from Nicolai's narrative we learn something of the comparative force of recent and remote sensible impressions.

"I had a visit," says the writer, "from Dr. C., to whom, among other remarks," (relative to his morbid impressions,) "I observed that I then enjoyed the satisfaction of having cultivated my moral habits, and particularly in having always endeavoured to avoid being the slave of fear." This remark was occasioned by the fact that the apparition had

always hitherto assumed an agreeable form. "When the doctor left me," he continues, "my relaxed attention returned to the phantasms, and some time afterwards, instead of a pleasing face, a visage of extreme rage appeared, which presented a gun at me, and made me start; but it remained the usual time, and then gradually faded away. This immediately showed me the probability of some connexion between my thoughts and these images; for I ascribed the angry phantasm to the general reflection I had formed in conversation with Dr. C." (at which time a visual idea of some object of dread had doubtless passed through his mind). "I recollected some disquisitions of Locke, in his Treatise on the Conduct of the Mind, where he endeavours to account for the appearance of faces to persons of nervous habits. It seemed to me as if faces, in all their modifications, being so associated with our recollections of the affections of passions, would be most likely to offer themselves in delirium; but I now thought it probable that other objects could be seen if previously meditated upon. With this motive it was that I reflected upon landscapes and scenes of architectural grandeur, while the faces were flashing before me; and after a certain considerable interval of time, of which I can form no precise judgment, a rural scene of hills, valleys, and fields appeared before me, which was succeeded by another and another in ceaseless succession, the manner and time of their respective appearance, duration, and vanishing, being not sensibly different from those of the faces. All the scenes were calm and still, without any strong lights or glare, and delightfully calculated to inspire notions of retirement, of tranquillity, and happy meditation."—The narrator tells us how he followed up this experiment by other similar ones. He thought of books, and anon he saw books. He continues, "I was now so well aware of the connexion of thought with their appearances, that by fixing my mind on the consideration of manuscript instead of printed type, the papers appeared, after a time, only with manuscript writing; and afterwards, by the same process, instead of being erect, they were all inverted, or appeared upside down."

Our doctrine is, as our readers have seen, that spectral, acoustic, and tactual illusions are occasioned by ideal impressions being made more vivid than actual sensations. This vivification is caused by disease of body, or powerful mental excitement, which, in fact, operates by occasional physical disease. Visual ideas, being the most numerous and impressive, are the oftenest excited; acoustic deceptions are more common than tactual; and ideas of smell and taste, being comparatively few and weak, afford no materials for morbid impressions. Whether the deception at first arise from physical or moral causes, it acts by means of the bodily organs; and therefore physical methods of counteraction should always be employed, whether moral influences be or be not also exerted. The physician did his patient more good by placing himself on the spot where the skeleton was believed to stand than by any reasoning he could have used, or any exertions to make his patient turn his attention to something else. The nerves are the medium of illusion, and the nerves therefore should be treated. The mind is the thing deceived, and not the deceiver; and the way to dispel the illusion is to rectify the instrument of deception.

Various circumstances have for some time been working together to effect a complete elucidation of the subject of which we are treating. The publication of Nicolai's case was the first advantage afforded. Dr. Ferriar, of Manchester, directed public attention to it in England; and the materials he afforded were improved upon by Dr. Hibbert, in his work on the Philosophy of Apparitions. To this work we are indebted for some of the ideas we have offered, and for the suggestion of more. Sir Walter Scott too has studied it, — studied it from beginning to end, but with no other apparent advantage than gleaning some interesting cases, and presenting his readers with some hints which it

is to be hoped they will amplify, as he has declined the task. What an opportunity has he lost of illustrating a dark region of life! The subject of supernatural appearances has for ages been treated poetically, and of late, medically and philosophically. Sir Walter Scott, by uniting the philosophy and the poetry as we expected he would, might have produced a work of singular interest and beauty, instead of doing what in him lay to set back the world which he has such mighty power to roll onward. This is the more mischievous as it is certain that very gross superstition not only lurks among the ignorant classes of society, but is countenanced by some who ought to know better. We are still told that the belief of supernatural agency has been so useful in the world that it is an injury to society to loosen the restraints of hope and fear which it has imposed. We are still plied with stories (true and interesting, we allow) of the detection of guilt and the reformation of the guilty, of consolation to the oppressed and support to the innocent, imparted by means of dreams and omens. We are asked what we think of the conversion of Colonel Gardiner, and of the discovery of murder which took place in the case of Corder, and in many similar instances. It is strange that the influences which operated in these cases should not be recognised, and that it should be forgotten how much misery has been caused by the superstition such persons would perpetuate. For one man who has been converted like Colonel Gardiner, hundreds have been impelled to crimes which they would not have perpetrated but from a belief that they were destined to do so. The intellects of thousands have been cramped by irrational fears, their energies perverted by degrading conceptions of the nature of Deity, their peace broken, and their tempers soured by wrong notions of the purposes and modes of religious obedience. Every reader of history knows this;

and if a record could be exhibited of the cases of suicide, of madness, of martyrdom, of death from terror which have been occasioned by popular superstitions, there would be an end of all argument for the maintenance of superstition through concern for the public good.

We have some sympathy with those who lament the approaching loss of the associations which are connected with popular superstitions. We are glad that they have lingered till our poets and novelists, — Sir Walter Scott especially, — could render them permanent as a matter of taste. As long as superstitions are linked with truth, as long as they preserve any thing of the character of allegory, they must be permanent. The Grecian mythology, ancient as it is, is not worn out; but it remains, not as a system of superstition, but as a reservoir of beauty whence the imagination may draw refreshment, perhaps for ever. As far as the superstitions of our country subserve the same purpose, let them abide; but not as superstitions. Let fairies and goblins impart something of spirituality to natural objects, even in the eyes of the laborer; but without engaging his belief; without causing one pang of terror to the most sensitive of his children. Let us exercise our imaginations by personifying our conceptions of a spiritual state; but not so as to make the most timid afraid of crossing a churchyard by moonlight. Let us mark all coincidences between ideal impressions and subsequent events, without fostering a belief in presentiments and omens.

It should be borne in mind that if, in the progress of society, some excitements of the imagination are lost, higher and better are substituted. As the aggregate experience of mankind accumulates, truth is developed, and the faculties of the mind approximate to a harmonious action. The imagination becomes more disposed to exercise itself on forms which have truth for their essence, and are there-

fore immortal, than on those which are inspired with a capricious and transient life. In the infancy of society, the imagination can find the elements of its creations in nature alone; and therefore its action is, for a time, pure. In a more advanced state, its elements are chosen from the dreams of a preceding age, and its illegitimate exercise gives birth to superstition. But the result of a further discipline of the universal mind is to make the imagination again subservient to truth; while the fuller development of truth expands and exalts the imagination. — Higher and purer excitements are at length administered by truth than ever sprang from delusion, however poetical. The thoughts and feelings suggested by the exercise of the abstract powers on real objects are more influential and permanent than any which originate in superstition. The associations which cluster around realities, in themselves insignificant, afford a greater variety of excitements than the machinery of pure fiction. The ignorant man observes an omen which intimates that a ship is lost at sea. He believes, and laments, and watches for tidings, and finds, perhaps, that the intimation accords with the fact; but his concern is more for the omen than the ship. His ideas and feelings are employed, not upon the interests of humanity which are involved, but on the observation and comparison of presentiments and arbitrary signs. The enlightened mind, in the mean time, is exercised by suggestions which imply no superhuman interference. If the shattered mast of a vessel, covered with seaweed, is seen drifting with the waves, a host of associations is summoned in an instant. Without the intervention of form or sound from above, tidings are conveyed of wreck and destruction: the scene is beheld — the farewell of companions about to be separated for a moment (but what a moment!) — the last bitter sympathy with those at home, — the manly resignation of some,

the abject horror or brutal carelessness of others, — the last glance upwards to the lights of heaven, the last struggle with the waters, the loneliness of the vessel while steadying to sink, the utter desolation when she has disappeared, leaving only this fragment to convey the tidings to watchful hearts, — all this is witnessed by the refined imagination in the distinctness and power of reality. No omen ever told so much as this; no spirit could utter more. — Our own spirits are the only authorized revealers of what is passing above and around us, and we need no others. If we subject them to their appropriate influences, we shall learn tidings which we can little anticipate; — tidings more awful than ever ghost disclosed at dead of night; more sweet than ever fairy breathed in forest glade; more true than ever omens suggested, or airy voices confirmed.

Some mourners are even yet unwilling to relinquish the belief that departed spirits may hold communion with survivors. The desire of such intercourse is natural as long as the survivor and the departed are conceived to hold the same relation to each other as formerly, as long as the spirit is imagined to be invested with some of the attributes of mortality. The very supposition of recognising it supposes also some manifestation of identity. If this should be so pervading as to preclude all doubt, all fear, all difficulty of communication; if, moreover, we could choose the time and place, we would almost lay down our own life for the sight of a familiar ghost. We would not choose a time or place itself furnishing associations which need be inferior to none in multitude and power. It would be awful, on a mountain top, to hear a still, small voice distinguishable in the thunder of the avalanche; to see a form rising through the mists which tumble below, or sweeping by on the blast; but here the forms and utterance of nature are sublime; and where the voice of God is put forth, no

other should be heard. Nor should we choose the hour when we are basking on the hill-side, contemplating the blue distance, and stretching our gaze so far into the world of mind that we would rather decline foreign aid till we have ascertained what we can accomplish for ourselves. Nor would we seek that aid in a moment of perplexity and difficulty, when the mind is not sufficiently open and calm for such communion as we should wish to institute. Least of all should we choose the hour of death, when, if ever, the soul should desire to be alone with its Maker. — We would invoke a spirit when in our solitary chamber; when the affections are stirring, and the intellect is not preoccupied. We would entreat it to appear, not in stern solemnity, nor surrounded by unintelligible attributes, but however wiser than ourselves, not graver; though purer, not colder. We would seek to know, not so much what the future has in store, as what record of the past is preserved in the affections of a spirit; what is taking place at present in the unseen world, and especially, whether any change is going on in the released soul which shall alter its relation to ourselves in consequence of our prolonged residence here. — Such questions, however, never have been answered; and we may therefore conclude, independently of argument, that they never can be answered in this world; for it is not possible that the sighings, the yearnings, the prayers of the bereaved should have been thus long unheeded.

Happily for us, there are manifestations of the departed which can never be obscured while it is our will to preserve them, — forms presented to the mental eye, voices eloquent to the attentive soul. If together we have watched the changes of nature, and learned the language of truth, our companionship cannot be destroyed by death. The spirit comes, like Uriel, on the slanting sunbeam; but not, like him, retiring as darkness draws on, it walks its nightly

round with us under the burning stars. It ascends with the lark when she springs from her low nest, but returns perpetually to drown with a whisper the din of the crowd, to eclipse with a glance the vain pomp and glory of the world. — This is truly a spiritual, though not a supernatural presence: and no one who has experienced it can doubt that it is better adapted for purposes of consolation and improvement than any creation of the fancy, however beautiful, or any shadows of superstition, however mysterious and sublime.

GODWIN'S THOUGHTS ON MAN.*

NOTHING that a philosopher writes of the subjects of his own philosophy can be uninteresting. Nothing that Godwin can say of Man can fail to excite our sympathy and curiosity, however his present sayings may fall short of the value of his former ones, or of those which we well know he would offer, if, with the rejuvenescence of his own St. Leon, he could issue forth once more into society, with a newly-invigorated intellect and an unsated experience. This work contains sketches of man in his individuality as striking, perhaps, as any ever drawn by the same hand; but they are not, as formerly, fixed in their right place as illustrations of some principle. We have faithful interpretations of some mysteries of human emotion; but they are not, as formerly, brought home as lessons of social virtue. These "Thoughts on Man" are not so arranged as to afford any reciprocal elucidation, or to tend, individually or collectively, to any perceivable end. There is not

* Thoughts on Man, his Nature, Productions, and Discoveries. By William Godwin. Effingham Wilson. 1831.

only a want of arrangement in the plan of the whole and of all its parts, but a want of unity in the philosophy. There is a great charm in variety of development, as long as there is a uniformity in the principles of the philosophy; but a mere assemblage of facts and observations, whether they relate to human nature or any thing else, leaves but an unsatisfactory impression. Whatever may be the pleasures of a coasting excursion where we see the same shore under all its varieties of aspect, — the pebbly beach, the reedy margin, the rocky promontory, the pastures, the glades, the creeks, successively presented, but finally blending themselves into one landscape, — it is a very different thing to be led through the mazes of an Archipelago where we are swept past now a volcano, and then a vine garden, here an abode of civilized men, and there a haunt of goats and monkeys. In the one case, we can return to our starting point, rich with the results of our survey: in the other, we know not at last how far we have been, or what we have gained; and moreover, it requires good management to get home again.

Mr. Godwin's book affords something of an exemplification of the common method of contemplating Humanity. We say his book — this one book; not his former works, nor yet himself. It is a rare thing for any man to take a really comprehensive survey of either the nature or destiny of himself and his race. Pictures present themselves to all who look upon life. Facts force themselves upon the observation. Emotions stir themselves in the heart. Mysteries stimulate the intellect, and passions engross the spirit in various succession. Men see, and feel, and observe; but, if they reason, it is only partially and temporarily. They, therefore, do not know what life is; much less do they discern what it may become. They do not see that these pictures are given as the visible representation of facts only that they may generate these emotions, which in their

turn can unravel the mysteries of the intellect, which again can reveal the laws by which the most tempestuous workings of the spirit are actuated and controlled. By a right arrangement of our experiences, they may be made to yield the true philosophy of human life: but how few extract this philosophy! As, in the book before us, we find chapters on Human Innocence and on Phrenology, on Love and Friendship and on the Ballot — so, in the larger volume of man's experience, we find a strange juxta-position of natural conditions and dubious science, of perdurable affections and temporary expedients. It would be possible, if it were worth while, to work out the contents of this book into a true system on the principles contained in it. Who can doubt whether the same process ought to be instituted with those other records which are impressed by an unerring hand, and can never perish?

The great impediment to a true understanding of the purposes of human life is prevalent ignorance or error respecting the primary laws of sensation and thought; and it is no less evident that we cannot have this true understanding till our mistakes are corrected, than that enormous social evils must exist till this true understanding is obtained.

As long as it is believed that there is an indefinite number, a multitude of original principles, of ultimate facts, in the human constitution, we shall be content to see the artisan unable to understand the work of his own hands, while others of his race, his nation, his kindred, are fathoming the ocean or scaling the firmament. We shall be tempted to refer the ferocity of the murderer and the benignity of the philanthropist to the different principles of their nature; and shall suppose that the inequalities of society, the exaltation of some individuals, and the abasement of others, are to be as permanent as the features of the earth on which they dwell; and that the conflicts of

human interests, the vicissitudes of human life, are as necessary as the storms of the atmosphere by which that life is sustained. — All this is wrong. At this wrong conclusion some arrive without troubling themselves at all about principles. They see that such inequalities have always existed, and therefore suppose that they will always exist. But others who refer the differences in human character to differences in the strength of original principles, commit a graver error still; and those who suppose differences in the kind, as well as in the degree, of those principles, commit the gravest error of all. There are philanthropists among all these classes; and in so far as their philanthropy is successful, it gains more than can be expected from it. It should reasonably acquiesce in the dictum that the Negro can be made little more of than the ape, the ploughboy than the Negro, the mechanic than the ploughboy, and so on, till the philosopher is declared to be by natural right the king of his race. Let the natural rights of his species be understood, and it will be seen whether some who are now grovelling in ignorance and vice had not originally as good a right to empire as he. Let it be understood that the primary principles of the human mind are few and simple, and let this knowledge be followed up to its social results, and we shall find — not that there are no original and permanent differences between man and man — but that the present constitution of society sanctions startling iniquities, and that communities are far indeed from being, in their best regulated departments, what they might be, what they ought to be, what they shall be. — Let it be as generally allowed as it is certainly ascertained, that the differences in human constitution arise, not from an irregular distribution of faculties, but from a greater or less original sensibility to pleasure and pain, and that one grand principle, having this sensibility for its material, is employed

in the formation of all minds, and it will be seen that the grand objects of human life lie before all; and that though some must attain a higher dignity and enjoyment than others, every one has a right to his share of those lofty intellectual and spiritual privileges which have hitherto been possessed by a very few whom circumstances have peculiarly favored. Let it be acknowledged that every human being at his birth prefers a claim to have his capacity for pleasure and pain, be it large or confined, made the most of, and every such being will be more likely than hitherto to have his power of association judiciously directed, his labors proportioned to his abilities, and his pursuits appropriated to his tastes or genius. Each will be more likely to find his proper place, and to be in the way of earning his share of advantages. As Godwin says,

"Putting idiots and extraordinary cases out of the question, every human creature is endowed with talents (or his nature involves principles) which, if rightly directed, would show him to be apt, adroit, intelligent, and acute in the walk for which his organization especially fitted him. What a beautiful and encouraging view is thus afforded us of our common nature! It is not true, as certain disdainful and fastidious censurers of their fellow-men would persuade us to believe, that a thousand seeds are sown in the wide field of humanity, for no other purpose than that half-a-dozen may grow up into something magnificent and splendid, and that the rest, though not absolutely extinguished in the outset, are merely suffered to live that they may furnish manure and nourishment to their betters. On the contrary, each man, according to this hypothesis, has a sphere in which he may shine, and may contemplate the exercise of his own powers with a well-grounded satisfaction. He produces something as perfect in its kind as that which is effected under another form by the more brilliant and illustrious of his species. He stands forward with a serene confidence in the ranks of his fellow-creatures, and says, 'I also have my place in society, that I

fill in a manner with which I have a right to be satisfied.' He vests a certain portion of ingenuity in the work he turns out. He incorporates his mind with the labor of his hands; and a competent observer will find character and individuality in it."—pp. 36–38.

Thus will it be with the hewer of wood when he ceases to vegetate like the tree he fells; and thus with the drawer of water when he understands by what obligation and for what end he lets down his bucket into the well. At present, such as these see that their children come into the world resembling in all natural rights the children of the aristocracy: while, after a few years, differences of mind as well as manners arise which are not to be overlooked even on the brink of the grave. How and when begins this separation? What is the history of man in the present state of society here?

He comes into life consecrated by the touch of the Creator. Among those on whom he has just bestowed his highest gifts, there is no distinction of ranks. There is mockery in the very conception. Every child's spirit is for some time fed by the same influences, and the growth of its intellect provided for by the same means. The mother's voice is near in the mansion and in the cottage. The moon and stars shine through the lattice as well as through painted windows. The turf is spread under foot for all, and the breezes of spring bear away the light laughter of all the little ones who love them without caring whence they come and whither they go. Eyes so young look in the faces of all alike with freedom and confidence. Hearts so young act upon impulses as yet unchecked by the dead weights which are soon to be arbitrarily imposed. Nature and man are as yet alike to all, except as far as they are made more or less beautiful and grand by constitutional varieties in the sensibilities. When the infant becomes the

pupil, much of the equality remains, be the school in which he learns what it may. He is still divided between spontaneous and prompted action. Be he rich or poor, be he well or ill taught, he is alternately free and subject to control. Mr. Godwin describes the schoolboy:

"In school our youth are employed about the thoughts, the acts, and suggestions of other men. This is all mimicry, and a sort of second-hand business. It resembles the proceeding of the fresh-listed soldier at drill; he has ever his eye on his right-hand man, and does not raise his arm, nor advance his foot, nor move his finger, but as he sees another perform the same motion before him. It is when the schoolboy proceeds to the play-ground that he engages in real action and real discussion. It is then that he is an absolute human being, and a genuine individual. The debates of schoolboys, their discussions what they shall do, and how it shall be done, are anticipations of the scenes of maturer life. They are the dawnings of committees, and vestries, and hundred-courts, and ward-motes, and folk-motes, and parliaments. When boys consult when and where their next cricket-match shall be played, it may be regarded as the embryo representation of a consult respecting a grave enterprise to be formed, or a colony to be planted. And, when they inquire respecting poetry and prose, and figures and tropes, and the dictates of taste, this happily prepares them for the investigations of prudence, and morals, and religious principles, and what is science, and what is truth.

"It is thus that the wit of man, to use the word in the old Saxon sense, begins to be cultivated. One boy gives utterance to an assertion; and another joins issue with him, and retorts. The wheels of the engine of the brain are set in motion, and without force perform their healthful revolutions. The stripling feels himself called upon to exert his presence of mind, and becomes conscious of the necessity of an immediate reply. Like the unfledged bird, he spreads his wings, and essays their powers. He does not answer, like a boy in his class, who tasks his understanding or not, as the whim of the moment shall prompt him, where one boy hon-

estly performs to the extent of his ability, and others disdain the empire assumed over them, and get off as cheaply as they can. He is no longer under review, but is engaged in real action. The debate of the schoolboy is the combat of the intellectual gladiator, where he fences, and parries, and thrusts, with all the skill and judgment he possesses.

"There is another way in which the schoolboy exercises his powers during the periods of leisure. He is often in society; but he is ever and anon in solitude. At no period of human life are our reveries so free and untrammelled as at the period here spoken of. He climbs the mountain-cliff, and penetrates into the depths of the woods. His joints are well strung; he is a stranger to fatigue. He rushes down the precipice, and mounts again with ease, as though he had the wings of a bird. He ruminates, and pursues his own trains of reflection and discovery, 'exhausting worlds,' as it appears to him, 'and then imagining new.' He hovers on the brink of the deepest philosophy, inquiring, How came I here, and to what end? He becomes a castle-builder, constructing imaginary colleges and states, and searching out the businesses in which they are to be employed, and the schemes by which they are to be regulated. He thinks what he would do, if he possessed uncontrollable strength, if he could fly, if he could make himself invisible. In this train of mind he cons his first lessons of liberty and independence. He learns self-reverence, and says to himself, I also am an artist and a maker. He ruffles himself under the yoke, and feels that he suffers foul tyranny when he is driven, and when brute force is exercised upon him to compel him to a certain course, or to chastise his faults, imputed or real." — pp. 168 – 171.

Such is the schoolboy, whether his dreams be of a park, or of a farm, or of the humblest roof which he may call his own in the darkest alley of the city. Such are his efforts, whether his aims be lofty or low. Such are the stirrings of his spirit, whether or not they are doomed to be laid to an ignoble rest. But here the companionship of minds is at an end. It is decreed by society that though

some few may have scope and uninterrupted impulse to action, the great majority must forego their leisure, (a precious possession which every one should share,) relinquish their higher aims, banish their imaginings, and employ the energies which ought to be immortal in producing that which can never be more than means to an end, and the production of which presently requires no energy at all. For a certain period of time, and in some cases for a permanence, an intellectual life, more or less vigorous, may be preserved by happy domestic influences, by casual associations with higher minds; but the lot of myriads is to be debarred by their outward circumstances from any intellectual progress; to be bidden by their fellow-men to "stand and wait" till the hour comes for their admission into a society where there is no respect of persons, no spiritual subservience, no bondage of the spirit, any more than of the limbs. Great as is our pleasure in seeing what man can do under favorable influences, we have, in the present state of things, more satisfaction in witnessing the efforts made by humbler agents to perpetuate the stimulus under which they once promised themselves great things. Greatly as we respect the researches of the closet, and admire the eloquence of the senate, and love the amenities of the most refined domestic intercourse, we turn from all these to enjoy the sight of any of those associations by which the lower classes keep up their sympathies with their race, and save their intellects from extinction. However little such associations may effect in comparison with those which subsist among the better educated, they are of incalculable worth in the absence of those higher institutions which must every where succeed them. — We have, in the work before us, two fine descriptions of the influences of oral communication, appropriate to the different classes we have been referring to. If the first be true, if fireside or

public discussions have the effect described on cultivated minds, we may reason from this in defence of such associations as are the subject of the second.

"Inestimable as is the benefit we derive from books, there is something more searching and soul-stirring in oral communication. We cannot shut our ears as we shut our books; we cannot escape from the appeal of the man who addresses us with earnest speech and living conviction. It is thus, we are told, that when Cicero pleaded before Cæsar for the life of Ligarius, the conqueror of the world was troubled, and changed color again and again, till at length the scroll prepared for the condemnation of the patriot fell from his hand. Sudden and irresistible conviction is chiefly the offspring of living speech. We may arm ourselves against the arguments of an author; but the strength of reasoning in him who addresses us takes us at unawares. It is in the reciprocation of answer and rejoinder that the power of conversion specially lies. A book is an abstraction. It is but imperfectly that we feel that a real man addresses us in it, and that what he delivers is the entire and deep-wrought sentiment of a being of flesh and blood like ourselves, a being who claims our attention, and is entitled to our deference. The living human voice, with a countenance and manner corresponding, constrains us to weigh what is said, shoots through us like a stroke of electricity, will not away from our memory, and haunts our very dreams. It is by means of this peculiarity in the nature of mind, that it has been often observed that there is from time to time an Augustan age in the intellect of nations, that men of superior powers shock with each other, and that light is struck from the collision, which most probably no one of these men would have given birth to, if they had not been thrown into mutual society and communion. And even so, upon a narrower scale, he that would aspire to do the most of which his faculties are susceptible, should seek the intercourse of his fellows, that his powers may be strengthened, and he may be kept free from that torpor and indolence of soul which, without external excitement, are ever apt to take possession of us.

"'The man who lives in solitude, and seldom communicates with minds of the same class as his own, works out his opinions with patient scrutiny, returns to the investigation again and again, imagines that he had examined the question on all sides, and at length arrives at what is to him a satisfactory conclusion. He resumes the view of this conclusion, day after day: he finds in it an unalterable validity: he says in his heart, 'Thus much I have gained; this is a real advance in the search after truth; I have added in a defined and palpable degree to what I knew before.' And yet it has sometimes happened that this person, after having been shut up for weeks, or for a longer period, in his sanctuary, living, so far as related to an exchange of oral disquisitions with his fellow-men, like Robinson Crusoe in the desert island, shall come into the presence of one, equally clear-sighted, curious and indefatigable with himself, and shall hear from him an obvious and palpable statement, which in a moment shivers his sightly and glittering fabric into atoms. The statement was palpable and near at hand; it was a thin, an almost imperceptible partition that hid it from him; he wonders in his heart that it never occurred to his meditations. And yet, so it is; it was hidden from him for weeks, or perhaps for a longer period; it might have been hid from him for twenty years, if it had not been for the accident that supplied it. And he no sooner sees it, than he instantly perceives that the discovery upon which he plumed himself was an absurdity of which even a schoolboy might be ashamed."—pp. 251–253.

"— I would in the first place assert that the merits and demerits of the public-house are very unjustly rated by the fastidious among the more favored orders of society. We ought to consider that the opportunities and amusements of the lower orders of society are few. They do not frequent coffee-houses; theatres and places of public exhibition are ordinarily too expensive for them: and they cannot engage in rounds of visiting, thus cultivating a private and familiar intercourse with the few whose conversation might be most congenial to them. We certainly bear hard upon persons in

this rank of society, if we expect that they should take all the severer labor, and have no periods of unbending and amusement. But in reality, what occurs in the public-house we are too much in the habit of calumniating. If we would visit this scene, we should find it pretty extensively a theatre of eager and earnest discussion. It is here that the ardent and 'unwashed artificer' and the sturdy husbandman, compare notes and measure wits with each other. It is their arena of intellectual combat, the *ludus literarius* of their unrefined university. It is here they learn to think. Their minds are awakened from the sleep of ignorance; and their attention is turned into a thousand channels of improvement. They study the art of speaking, of question, allegation, and rejoinder. They fix their thought steadily on the statement that is made, acknowledge its force, or detect its insufficiency. They examine the most interesting topics, and form opinions, the result of that examination. They learn maxims of life, and become politicians. They canvas the civil and criminal laws of their country, and learn the value of political liberty. They talk over measures of state, judge of the intentions, sagacity, and sincerity of public men, and are likely in time to become in no contemptible degree capable of estimating what modes of conducting national affairs, whether for the preservation of the rights of all, or for the vindication and assertion of justice between man and man, may be expected to be crowned with the greatest success: in a word, they thus become, in the best sense of the word, citizens."—pp. 177–179.

This approbation of ale-house meetings is, we repeat, only applicable in the absence of better associations. They will be no longer needed, and much less frequented, when the new institutions which have sprung up among us shall have been so far modified by the wants of their members as to supply to them the aid which the higher classes derive from their appropriate resources. With the growing intelligence of the people will approach the time when the ends

of existence shall be better understood and more extensively attainable — those aims which at present enter so little into the thought of the great majority of the most advanced nations. A very large proportion of every civilized people is occupied in preparing the tools by which the animal necessities are to be provided for; another large proportion is employed in raising food, and circulating and preparing it for consumption. This is a very proper business for them, if it were pursued as a means of subsistence merely, and if the subsistence were a certain reward of a moderate quantity of labor. But it is not so. Men think it the purpose of their life to saw, to carry bricks, or to sow and reap; and no wonder they think so, when their utmost labor will do no more than support life. When all this is done, and the body is actually nourished with this food, we have only fulfilled the necessary conditions, and not attained the ends of our life. All that is yet done is only preliminary; not only to some highly-favored classes, but to every individual. Bodily strength and ease, and the pleasures which result from moderate labor, are the means by which the mind is to be formed and nourished; and though, among the laboring classes, the process does go on insensibly to the individual, he does not receive what is due to him from society till this progress is proposed to him as an aim, and till he is allowed opportunity to attain it. When, by the conscious employment of his means, the individual feels himself fulfilling the purposes of his being, his progress is continually accelerated; for the power of exertion and the pleasure arising from it act reciprocally as cause and effect. Their action is compatible with the humblest occupations, and through it will the laborer realize what our author describes when he says, "he vests a certain portion of ingenuity in the work he turns out. He incorporates his mind with the labor of his hands."

When the time arrives which is reasonably anticipated by philanthropists whose sobriety of judgment is unquestionable, when every man shall have that labor appointed him which he is best fitted to perform, and when that labor shall be pursued in reference to an ulterior and unseen object, human virtue (on which our author writes eloquently) will be widely different from what it is now, while the grounds of moral obligation remain the same. In the present state of society, and consequent position of every individual in it, it is all that the most enlightened piety can do to keep the spirit free to be acted upon by the holy influences which, being essentially fitted for universality, shall, at length, operate upon all minds. The struggle with very gross temptations is now long and severe to the wisest and best of us; while thousands occasionally fall, and myriads have little power to resist. Almost all these grosser temptations, whether of prosperity or of adversity, spring out of the social system by which one man's loss is another man's gain, and the natural consequences of actions are delayed or averted. Penal enactments present a very insufficient opposition to such temptations; as the awful amount of social crime testifies every day. When the ends of individual life are duly regarded, the aims of society (which are themselves but means) will be certainly fulfilled. If labor were more equally distributed, individual capacities would be more easily distinguishable; and as a consequence of this, the rewards of labor would be more appropriate and secure. Then the temptations of self-interest would be weakened, as there would be less want, and men could not covet or grasp with impunity. The pressure of necessity being removed, men would have leisure for the pursuit of high and higher objects; and the absence of the grosser temptations would leave them free to be wrought upon by the fine influences created for them, and ever awaiting their

reception: while the state of society should itself generate these impulses perpetually, especially those which proceed from the reciprocal communion of minds at ease, and earnest in the pursuit of things unseen and eternal.

Here we must stop; not because we have transgressed the bounds to which sound reason warrants our advancing; but because the prospect is already as extensive as we can take in at one survey. It is no region in the clouds that we are contemplating; it is a land of promise stretched out before our eyes, in all its distinct reality. The prophetic voice of philanthropy has long announced to us a state of society in which every individual shall be employed according to his capacity, and rewarded according to his works: and in the meanwhile we are ready to hail the appearance of any "Thoughts on Man," which shall not only supply desultory facts and observations, but suggest means for securing to him all his rights, and cultivating all his capabilities.

ROMANISM AND EPISCOPACY.*

THE idea of this work is excellent. We were struck with it on first seeing the advertisement; but it was not till we had read the book itself that we became fully aware how comprehensive is its plan, and how admirable a clew it furnishes to the intricacies of all established religions, not excepting that of which the author is an honored minister. This work is, in fact, an exposure of the evils of establishments; and all that is necessary for a logical overthrow of the church of England is a fair extension of the

* The Errors of Romanism traced to their Origin in Human Nature. By Richard Whately, D.D. London: Fellowes. 1830.

principles of this book to the one other case of which it does not treat. If Dr. Whately would take his own volume for a text-book, and practise upon it the rules of his other volume, on logic, the result must be, to a spirit so candid and liberal as his, that he would resign his archbishopric into other hands, and preach the gospel in a plain coat, black or blue as it might beseem. The candor and liberality of our author being granted, — and who questions either? — let us proceed to establish the other half of our position.

We hope that none turn away from this book because the word Romanism is conspicuous in the title-page. Many are weary of hearing of whatever bears any relation to the Pope. The Catholic question being settled, they think all connected with Romanism is over and gone. They do not want to be convinced that there is folly in holy-water, and wax-lights, and Latin prayers, and incense, and have decided long ago that there is neither profit nor pleasure in monachism. They think that if O'Connel would but agitate himself into his grave, the matter of his faith might drop; or that if it must be still brought before our eyes occasionally, it is only helping to keep it alive to write about it. All this is suggested to some persons by the word Romanism: but if they will have patience just to look at the table of contents, they will find that Judaism, Mahometism, Paganism are nearly convertible terms with Romanism as regards the matter of this book. Human nature as acted upon by religion, and acting upon religion, — under whatever aspect, — is our author's subject: and we find the brazen serpent and the cross, the sword of the Prophet and the crosier of the Pope, the dark rites of Paganism and the mysteries of Romanism, all brought to bear on the dangers and abuses of Protestantism, and made to serve as an elucidation of the intricacies of the heart of man.

Our author stands on firm ground when he contends that human nature has the same tendencies every where and at all times, those tendencies being only modified, and not radically changed, by the various influences to which men are subjected. "As face answereth to face in water, so is the heart of man:" and Eve would have known her own likeness, whether she looked at it in cisterns fouled with earthly intermixtures, or in the mountain lake freshened with streams from heaven. From his main position our author cannot be dislodged: the question is, whether he has not left an opening through which an adversary may reach him, and whether he can be secure till he has extended his lines one post farther.

His six chapters treat of Superstition, of Vicarious Religion, of Pious Frauds, of undue Reliance on Human Authority, of Persecution, and of Trust in Names and Privileges.

He begins well by adverting to the popular difficulty, — the difficulty which the schoolboy puts, and at which his wise father shakes his head, — how the Israelites could be so ineffably stupid, so absolutely infatuated, as to be idolatrous in so gross a manner as they were, while they had Jehovah's visible presence for their guide, his audible presence for their oracle, and his sensible and immediate chastisements and rewards for their government. The golden calves, and the groves and altars and invocations of Baal are equally an astonishment to the baptized child and his Christian parent; for want, as Dr. Whately tells us, of that philosophy which enables the student of human nature to discern the same principles in their different manifestations. The same vices and absurdities may have existed in every age under different forms; taking their proportions, of course, from the various kinds and degrees of restraint which circumstances impose. The Israelites had not our ad-

vantages of experience. We judge of them by the event: they could not do so of any preceding people: and if our judgment of them could be compared with that which the generations of A. D. 5832 will form of us, the decision might not be so incomparably in our favor as we may suppose. Looking only to what is past, there is no such wonderful difference between worshipping the brazen serpent (which had once really had its sanctity) and venerating the feather of Gabriel's wing with which the Koran was written, and adoring the wood of the true cross. Yet the Mahometans marvelled at the Jews, and the Catholics marvel at the Mahometans. Some there are also that marvel at the Catholics; but are all such quite sure that they see no sanctity in the sacramental bread and wine, or in the east rather than the west, or in the season of Lent, or even in a surplice and lawn sleeves? Dr. Whately alleges not only that these superstitions exist, but several even more absurd; and he speaks from the experience to which his professional duty has led him. We cannot follow him through the whole of his most useful exposure of popular superstitions; but we must put a plain question to him on a text which he has himself furnished.

He says, (p. 71.) "All these, and numberless other such superstitions, it was the business of the Romish priesthood, not to introduce indeed, but to encourage and maintain, inasmuch as they almost all tend to increase the influence and wealth of the Hierarchy: let it be the Protestant pastor's business, not only to abstain from conniving at or favoring any thing of the kind, but (remembering that the original source of superstition is not in the Church of Rome, but in the heart of man) to be ever on the watch against its inroads from various quarters and in various shapes."

This is true and good as far as it goes, but it is not complete. The Church of England should be coupled with that of Rome throughout this passage; for whatever applies to the one applies to the other also. Superstitions respecting the sacraments, feasts and fasts, and the whole ritual of our church, indirectly tend, by exalting the clergy, to increase the influence of the Hierarchy; and superstitions respecting tithes. &c., tend directly to increase its wealth; so that it becomes "the business of the English clergy, not to introduce indeed, &c. &c." And again, if the original source of superstition be in man's heart, is it not the duty of his spiritual guides so to arrange and vary all outward ordinances as that there may be the least possible danger of encouraging a notion of any inherent sanctity in any of them? Did not Christ aim at this in what he said of the washing of hands and the giving of gifts? And had not Paul the same object in what he wrote concerning the Lord's feast at Corinth? And does the church coöperate with or contravene the Scriptures in appointing holy persons, and holy places, and holy times, however strenuously her best prelates may argue and warn against a superstitious abuse of such institutions?

The mention of holy persons leads us on to Dr. Whately's second chapter, on Vicarious Religion. The argument against the existence of two kinds of religion, one for a certain class and another for all, is triumphant. It is founded on the true explanation of the term "mystery," and our only wonder is that one who adopts that explanation should still hold the doctrine of the Trinity as the basis of that faith whose object is to *make manifest* that which had before been concealed. Of course, the existence of this doctrine must be manifest to our author, though the meaning of any thing so inexplicable cannot be, and (as he owns) is not manifest. We differ from him in two ways. We

hold the Apostle's meaning to be, not that the *existence* but the *nature* of religious doctrine is made manifest by the Christian revelation; and we not only do not discern the doctrine of the Trinity in the gospel, but we discern that it is not there. Though some think us blinded, like the people of Dothan, who saw nothing of the glory which was apparent to the servants of God, we rather liken ourselves to the Nazarenes who searched the temple of Ephesus and found no supplementary Deity within the shrine. Knowing that Jehovah was there, they knew that Diana could not be there too. As long as any dogma is taught as a part of Christianity, on which the understandings of the people are at fault, while they see their teachers disputing about that which it is acknowledged they cannot understand, there will exist a powerful temptation to hold a vicarious faith. While they see some as carefully guarding against Unitarianism as others against tritheism, — Magee against Sherlock, and Whately against Magee, — on points on which the people can come to no satisfactory decision themselves, the greatest possible encouragement is given to them to repose their faith in despair on their clergy; and thus, — to use the words of our author, — "the unprofitable, absurd, presumptuous, and profane speculations of scholastic theologians (not all of them members of the Romish Church,) which are extant, afford a melancholy specimen of the fruits of this mistake as to the Christian mysteries — this corruption from the *simplicity* that is in Christ." (p. 83.)

The inference which our author draws from the distinction (familiar to every reader of the original gospel) between Hiereus and Presbyteros, — Priest and Elder — only needs to be extended to answer our purpose as well as his. He proves that there never was and never can be any *priesthood* connected with genuine Christianity; that the

priests under the Jewish law held a special office, to which there is nothing analogous in the new dispensation; that the priesthoods of Paganism were of the same distinctive character as that of Judaism; and that the Romish church is therefore either Pagan or Jewish, and decidedly Anti-christian, in this one of her institutions. But what better can be said of the constitution of the Church of England? What is the meaning of ordination? What is the transmission of the Holy Ghost? Why have we such a term as "holy orders"? May or may not any good man, imbued with gospel wisdom, mount the pulpits of our cathedrals? Do or do not our prelates enjoy legislative and other privileges on account of their episcopal rank? Are or are not the pastors of the church chosen by the people to instruct them, and guide their devotions, — as professors of arts and science are ostensibly chosen, — because they have qualified themselves for the office, and for no other reason? — There is no use in recurring, for a justification of the negative, to apostolic times. Beyond the few, specially authorized by the gifts of the Spirit, we read of no investment with office but that which was subservient to the division of labor. The bishops, presbyters, and deacons were like the different ranks of officers in our universities, or our government departments, or our army and navy, or any of our institutions, — except our church. However, as Dr. Whately insists as strenuously as we can do on there being no priesthood in Christianity, we have only to ask him why he countenances an establishment which assumes the principle of a priesthood; and why, discerning so clearly as he does the proneness of the multitude to vicarious religion, he upholds a system which affords the utmost conceivable encouragement to this vice. If it must needs be that the offence cometh, who would assist the means by which it comes?

If Dr. Whately sees that true Christianity has no priesthood, and believes that the primitive church government (of which his own is but an indecent caricature) was an institution of expediency, meant to be modified by time and circumstance, he must discern the approach of the day when every man shall serve at the altar, (since that altar is the heart of every man;) when every man shall be brought up to a divine profession, (since gospel wisdom is a pursuit of individual attainment;) when the only ranks in the Christian hierarchy will lie in different degrees of spiritual accomplishment? Why retard this happy time? Why take all possible pains to propagate and confirm by the practice, while the lips and the pen contradict, the impression that there is an *order* of servants of the altar, that there is a peculiar divine *profession*, that there is a divinely authorized *gradation of ranks* in the Christian community? Not all that the archbishop can do in explaining the character and offices of Christian ministers; not all his advocacy of the education of the poor for the sake of promoting personal religion; not all his careful explanations of the professional distinction between clergy and laity; not all his clearly defined appreciation of what it is in which Christian pastors are to be an example to their flocks, will nullify or greatly mitigate the pernicious influence of his sanction of a system which upholds every one of the abuses he labors to expose. Does he remember that there have been Romanists as candid, as sagacious, as exemplary as himself, who have with equal earnestness separated the pure truth of *their* system from its entanglements, only to have the web woven round again as closely as ever, when they were called away from their work? Fenelon possessed the spirit of the gospel in much strength and purity, and through it became a benefactor to society: but he was a Romanist archbishop; and through his office became a pattern of

superstition, and in so far, the enemy of the race for whom he would have laid down his life. Whately ——— but we leave our readers to make out the parallel for themselves, once more offering our conclusion in the author's words. "Now if the Jews be justly condemned who crucified our Lord between two thieves — thus studiously 'numbering with the transgressors' of the vilest kind the only man who never transgressed — it is awful to think what account those will have to render at the last day who labor to vilify his religion by confounding it with the grossest systems of human imposture and superstition, in those very points in which the two are not only different, but absolutely *contrasted.*" (p. 110.)

In charging the Church of England with the same vices that characterize the Romish, we do not mean to convey that they subsist in so monstrous a form, or to so pernicious an extent. The progression of ages forbids that they should. But the amelioration of practice is no proof of a rectification of principle; though it may and must lead to it, and be in its turn acted upon by it. Pious frauds are, from their very nature, dependent for their extent upon the darkness of the age. With an equal disposition to be fraudulent, knaves of every class must calculate their measures, and estimate their success by circumstances beyond their own control, by the light of the age, and the advancement of the people they have to do with: and no church, however ill-constituted, could now rival the enormities in the way of pious frauds which were perpetrated by the Romish church in the dark ages. But institutions which foster the disposition, and multiply the temptations to such frauds are not therefore the less pernicious. Of these we hold the Church of England to be one. There is pious fraud involved in her plea for her gains. She connives at pious fraud in all the distinctions she originates between the clergy and the

laity, and sets a premium upon it wherever she offers privileges or emoluments which have for their condition a certain profession of faith. Could the minds of our British clergy be laid open as the minds of Christian men should be, how many real churchmen would be found among them? Set aside those who have no opinions on their faith at all, and those who will have none; those who stifle their own instincts after truth, and those who pervert them; set aside the tri-theists, and the Unitarians, (equally condemned by the Athanasian Creed:) set aside the Arians, and Sabellians, and Deists, — set aside those who pledge themselves to the Articles without thinking, or in spite of thought, those who fear to speak heresy, and those who quietly inculcate heresy, — all in short, who would not in God's presence say amen to the Common Prayer Book, from beginning to end, and how many remain? None of these have a right to the privileges of the church on her own conditions; and though we will not say that a large proportion of them are not really blind, we cannot but think that a strong temptation is held out to them to shut their eyes. We will allege against the church, in this particular, only what she herself admits; that there is a diversity of opinion within her pale, while her emoluments are offered on a supposition of uniformity of opinion. This she will not deny; and this is enough. By her own confession, she sets a premium upon hypocrisy. She does not, like the Romish church, cajole the crowd with mummeries, and saints with false promises, and sinners with false threats, and devotees with a jugglery of the imagination. She does not do this because she cannot. But what she can, she does; for she is possessed with her own branch of the family of Legion. She allegorizes, and prevaricates, and mystifies, and coaxes, and frowns, and does every thing but speak out, and make her servants tell the whole truth. There may be some who

fathom her meaning, and swear faithfully to it, and do good service accordingly. It is well; let them be rewarded. But there are others who swear to her in one sense, and serve in another. They serve, however, and are therefore rewarded. There are yet others, who shake their heads about her meaning, but do her bidding: they are to be rewarded of course. But what is to be done with the class who neither understand nor serve? Why, if they *say* they understand, let them come in for their share. And this is not encouraging deceit for the credit of the church! What then *is* pious fraud?

This third head, also, we close with a passage from our author, warning those who would attain a good end, — especially the confirmation of the faith, to abstain from using, or permitting to be used, any but unexceptionable means. "Let it not be lost sight of that the fraud by which they sought to support the system — the 'wall daubed with untempered mortar,' with which they thought to buttress up their edifice — has always tended to its decay. Not only did it give rise to a hostile separation among Christian churches, but in countries which have continued under the Papal sway, the abhorrence and contempt excited by the detection of a fraudulent system, has led the far greater part of the educated classes into secret, but total, apostacy from Christ. With the indiscriminate rashness, which is universally so common, they have confusedly blended together in their minds Christianity and its corruptions; and having in so many instances detected fraud with absolute certainty, they think it not worth while to inquire further; but take for granted, that all the church teaches is one tissue of imposture and superstition throughout." (p. 168.) Bearing in mind that disguise, or even silence, on opinions where they differ from the public act of profession, is fraud, we shall see nothing in the above extract that does not apply to the Church of England.

The fourth chapter, — on undue reliance on human authority, — proceeds throughout on the assumption that a church, in the popular sense of the word, is necessary; and this in the face of an explanation, elsewhere given, of the real meaning of the term, namely, an assemblage of worshippers. We go along with our author in all that he says of the probable origin of the Romish assumption of infallibility, and of the importance of the fact that no creeds were left us by the primitive Christians, and no traces of any catechetical form used by them; but our inferences from all this would be widely different from his. Whence does he learn "the *necessity* which exists of making use of (framed) human expositions of the Scripture, not only for the purpose of providing a symbol, test, or creed, (such as our Thirty-nine Articles,) in order to ascertain a sufficient agreement in members of the same religious community, but also for the purposes of public worship and catechetical instruction? How does it follow from the fact that the sacred writers left no forms, that they committed "to the *church* the office of systematically *teaching*, and to the *Scriptures* that of *proving* the Christian doctrines?" We should rather infer from the facts, that there is no "necessity" for forming any creed, or it would have been done for those who were much more in danger (from their ancient prejudices) of mixing error with truth than ourselves. We should infer, that no *systematic* teaching by any separate body of men was contemplated in relation to future times. The early Christians were compelled to form a *community*, surrounded as they were on all sides by enemies. Teaching, whether systematic or not, was necessary for every convert, as conversion was the act of giving up one religion for another of an opposite character. The case is widely different with us. We are not a small and despised body, hedged in by Paganism and Judaism, and at war with

all the prejudices of all the world. Christianity is absolutely free, in our land, from all external opposition; and its disciples begin their Christian course from a different starting point, — from a state of pure ignorance, instead of confirmed prejudice. They must be taught; but the teaching is not, as formerly, the explanation of the points wherein this new faith differs from all ancient ones, but an instilling of principles which are only opposed by the dispositions of the individual and the passing circumstances of the time. The teaching of the present day should, therefore, be adapted to the wants of the individual, and therefore *systematic* only in relation to himself. That which is made systematic in the abstract will assuredly fail of its purpose, and will prove an imposition, and not an explanation, of doctrine. What suits one age is unfit for another. What suits one individual is unfit for another. Let defences then be withdrawn where there is no opposition. Let impositions be relinquished, which are confessedly unauthorized. Let creeds and tests be abolished, since it is clear that they cannot secure uniformity of opinion, and since we have abundant evidence that such uniformity is not decreed by God, and makes no part of the religion of Christ. And if it be true that there is a proneness in human nature to sleep over its best interests, and to confide to fallible teachers concerns which have been committed to no guardianship but its own, away with all institutions which, besides failing of their objects, encourage this proneness! If the evils of spiritual assumption on the one hand, and indolence on the other, are inseparable from the influence of an establishment, (as experience has ever proved,) this alone is reason enough why such institutions should be given up; especially when no authority — not even that of analogy — can be adduced in their support.

Dr. Whately is not like many of the divines of the church of England, who are horrified at the Romish claim of infallibility, and yet, practically, assume the same attribute for their church, by denying that any reform ever has been, is, or will be, necessary. Dr. Whately is friendly to reform; and when he proves to us that his church is as candid as himself, — when he gives us evidence of her "readiness to correct any thing that shall be proved at variance with Scripture or with reason," we shall discuss these matters with as much pleasure with her as with himself. But who is permitted to offer the proof he speaks of, and by whom is it to be admitted? Such proof has been offered a thousand times, by living and breathing men, and it remains on their tongues and in their books; but the church is an impersonality, and cannot be reached; and thus the invitation to a discussion becomes a mere taunt. It is as if a ghost should impose commands, and inflict penalties, and levy supplies, and claim allegiance; and, in answer to our complaints, should offer an insulting challenge to combat. If Dr. Whately offers himself as a representative of this abstract power, well and good. We will fight with him, *con amore*, if he will only promise not to take refuge under the wing of his invisible sovereign, as soon as we get the better of him.

We are reminded at every page of the next chapter, on Persecution, of these our objections to an establishment. Our author reasons well on what persecution is, and whence it arises, in order to guard against a sin to which human nature is peculiarly prone; but he overlooks the fact, that wherever an organized church is connected with the State, there must be indirect, if not direct persecution. Wherever there is a prescribed faith with which are connected secular advantages of any kind, honest men who cannot subscribe to this faith are precluded from these advantages; that is,

are persecuted; for there is none but an arbitrary connexion between the religious faith and the secular advantages. A case in point is the exclusion of Dissenters from our universities, or their honors, because they cannot subscribe the articles of the church. There is no more real connexion between the studies of the university and the faith of the church, than between the weaving of broadcloth and belief in the thirty-nine articles: and it would be just as liberal to make subscription a condition of apprenticeship to that art, as of studying science and the classics in our universities. There is no explaining away this matter. It matters not that other universities may be established on a more liberal principle for the use of Dissenters. It matters not what apprehensions any son of the church may have of the effect of mixing heretics with true believers in the train of philosophy and science. It is no matter who founded these universities, and who are willing or unwilling that this restriction should be maintained. Our complaint is against the church which has imposed bonds on conscience, and set up differences between man and man, which the gospel does not sanction, and to which there was nothing analogous in the dealings of the primitive Christians with Jews and Pagans, and other adversaries, by whom the gospel has long ceased to be opposed. Dr. Whately tells us of an atheist who was deprived of justice because he was too conscientious to take an oath which he did not regard as binding. The case before us is as full of injustice as his. He could not take the oath because that which sanctifies it was absent; and the consequent denial of justice is a proof of the evil of connecting things which do not belong to each other, — namely a belief in God and an enjoyment of the rights of man. Dissenters cannot subscribe faithfully, because that which makes good the subscription is wanting in them; and then they feel the hardship of a similar arbi-

trary connexion between a belief in certain doctrines, and their share of the advantages of learning. Let all prescriptions of faith be done away, and there will be an end of such arbitrary connexion for ever: and the evil disposition which our author discerns springing up in the heart of man will be deprived of the outlet through which it has poured its most baleful and devastating force.

As to the concluding chapter of the work before us, it is very clear that the best way of obviating the danger of "Trust in Names and Privileges," is to have but one name and no privileges. Science is only partially revealed, and under conditions which are at present necessarily confined to a certain proportion of society. Let the followers of science, then, have their ranks and orders and privileges, if the value of the object and the facilities of attaining it become enhanced thereby. The arts are so far from being in a state of maturity, that it may be well to aid the division of labor, and stimulate individual exertion, by arbitrary rules of incorporation and precedence. The same may be said of literature; but never, never, of Christianity, in its relation to the heart of man. Let biblical science, the art of preaching, theological literature, be placed under the same rule as other science, art, and literature, if you will; but these things are not Christianity. Christianity is a concern of the spirit; and the things of the spirit cannot be measured, and proportioned, and rewarded by man like the embodied attainments of the intellect. It is for God alone to institute this charter, for Christ to offer it, for man to accept and enjoy it. Man has nothing to do with the administration of it, or with any body's share in it but his own, except so far as to rejoice in the universality of so rich a blessing. Those who are wise do well to explain what they think the terms of this charter, and to point out the wisdom and benignity of its frame and provisions, and

to influence as far as they may to a fulfilment of its conditions; but all this entitles them to no rank where no distinctions of rank can enter, — to no privilege where equality is the prime attribute of the constitution. Their reward is of a totally different, and far higher kind. It is between God and themselves; and though it may bring after it, in the way of natural consequence, the benefits resulting from the esteem and love of men, such results are totally unconnected with the name of an exclusive, and the privileges of an incorporated class of society. Paul gloried in a name above the rulers who persecuted him, because in that name resided benefits which they knew not of. He gloried in his privileges, because they transcended any that could be obtained out of a spiritual region; but that region being once entered, that name once adopted, all distinctions cease, and the prelate who stands up in his stall is of precisely the same rank as the beggar who kneels in the aisle. There is no occasion to remind Dr. Whately of this; for no bearing can be more free from assumption than his, if we may judge from the spirit of his book; but we would ask him respecting the righteousness of establishments which directly tend to foster the error he so well understands, and to destroy in those less clear-sighted than himself the impression which it is of surpassing importance to deepen and strengthen, — that the origin of Christianity is spiritual, that its aim is to spiritualize, that spirituality is its essence. If the people see men legislating, growing learned, getting rich, mounting from one dignity to another, by virtue of their Christianity, there is small use in *telling* them that Christianity is independent of all these things. It is far more easy, far more rational, far more honest to *show* them that it is so. As long as there must be privileges, and honors, and wealth, let them be conferred in reward of qualifications to which they are more appropriate; and then

such men as Whately will be spared the vain and ridiculous labor of guarding individuals against errors which are hourly cherished in millions by the influence of institutions. This is like damming up a tributary brook, while the main stream rushes on with a perpetually swelling tide. — Dr. Whately cannot be spared for so idle a work. He has done much in searching out the source, and ascertaining that it is too ample to be dried up at present. His next labor should be to divert its course from the fair fields of promise which lie beneath its devastation.

It is a glorious office to teach Christianity at all; but the work is not invested with its full glory till that which is spiritual is wholly severed from its arbitrary connexion with the temporal adjuncts with which man is prone to combine it, through a clear perception of the reasons for such a disunion. Precedence settled by this rule is somewhat different from that which the heraldic science of modern Christendom has decreed. By this rule, the cotter, leading the Saturday night's devotions of his family, is greater in his office than the archbishop preaching amidst the state of his thronged cathedral; and the enlightened dissenting minister is more exalted than either. He has gratefully learned — it may be from the archbishop — the origin of the evils with which he would wage war, while he adopts whatever there is of rectitude in the practice of the cotter, with a clearer perception than his that it is rectitude. He has the privilege, with the prelate, of looking back into the records of all religions, and tracing the common source of all their abuses, while he is as free as his humble coadjutor from the entanglement of institutions which perpetually reproduce the evils he labors to destroy. In entering upon the high office of Christian instruction, the first prayer should be for spiritual requisites; the next, for accomplishment in the lore of the gospel and

of the human heart; and the third, for deliverance from factitious difficulties and self-created impediments. When these prayers are put up universally, with due sincerity of soul and energy of purpose, we shall hear no more of the Church of Rome, or the Church of England, with their distinctive errors and assumptions. Their peculiar claims, at any rate, and, we trust, their common vices, will merge in the prevalence of the church of Christ.

EXPOSITION OF PROFESSOR JACOTOT'S SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.*

THE first thing to be examined into in considering the pretensions of any new system of education is its harmony with the whole constitution of the beings who are to be subjected to it. Nothing is easier than to discover methods by which separate portions of the human creature may be brought to a very high degree of perfection, provided other portions are left out of consideration; and a partial system may promise great things, and perform all its promises, without being at all fit for general adoption. Many an idiot with a marvellous memory has been made an idiot by the education of his memory. Many a dyspeptic mathematician would willingly give up some of his scientific attainment, if his dyspepsia would go with it. Many a man, the workings of whose intellect are unusually true, sighs for that

* A Compendious Exposition of the Principles and Practice of Professor Jacotot's celebrated System of Education. By Joseph Payne. London. 1830.

Epitome Historiæ Sacræ, adapted, by a literal Translation, to Jacotot's Method. By Joseph Payne. London. 1831.

harmony of spirit with God and man of which he has been deprived by being taught to pursue means as ends. It is quite as possible to make a child a prodigy of philosophy or learning at fifteen (at the risk of sending him out of the world at that age) as it is to make an infant twice the average size of infants by pouring in as much cream as the digestive organs will bear. The great question is, not whether these feats may not be achieved, but whether it is desirable that they should be achieved; and before the claims of any new mode of education are investigated, it should be ascertained whether, granting them to be sound in themselves, they are likely to interfere with other claims of greater importance.

Nobody disputes this; and yet what dreadful havoc do we daily see introduced into the constitution of the future man by the neglect of so plain a consideration! So bitter is the heart-ache which compassionate observers feel from witnessing the destruction of some component part or another of the unhappy pupils of new systems, that they are tempted, in contradiction to reason, to conclude that a fortuitous education is the best thing that children can be blessed with, after all. Such a conclusion is monstrous, we allow; but some excuse is to be made for it in the presence of all the immediate pain, and in prospect of all the future harm, caused by that exaggeration of systems already partial and exaggerated which now strikes us wherever we turn our eyes. It is melancholy to see a train of children going out to walk with open lesson books in their hands. It is melancholy to see the trickling tears which mock the parent, while he talks of the primary necessity of interesting children in what they learn. It is melancholy to see the irritability induced by perpetual interrogation, and the dislike to learn caused by the obligation to be always learning. It would be ludicrous, if it were not melancholy, to see little

ones of eight years old drawing maps of the English Constitution, and explaining the relations of the legislative and executive departments, of King, Lords, and Commons, before they have learned any thing of domestic government but what they must detest. It is really not to be wondered at that good-natured people would rather see these victims of system with the rosy face and round eyes of a ploughboy, and as stupid as he, than dwindled in body, and crushed in mind, as they are too often at present seen to be. The prospect is even worse than the present reality. What can come of the method (mistakenly called Pestalozzian) of interrogating children from morning till night, but that the timid will be dismayed and stupified, and the bold made superficial and conceited? Pestalozzi was perfectly right in avoiding the old system, where all was communication on the part of the teacher, and submissive reception on that of the pupil; but he little dreamed of what should be done in his name while he was doing every thing in the name of nature. If we may judge by much that we have seen, there will be, in a few years, an influx on society of conceited half-thinkers, of presumptuous all-knowers, who know nothing thoroughly, and have been too much habituated to answer questions when the solution was placed within their reach, to think of asking any when a reply is not quite so close at hand. We are far from wishing that the stir about education, through which all this has arisen, had not taken place. We are not so sanguine as to suppose that any reformation of importance can take place without the introduction and occasional prevalence of many errors; and we look for a certain, if not speedy, enlargement of views, and for a better direction of a very laudable zeal than that which has signalized the adoption of the many new systems of which we hear. What we desire is, not the relinquishment of what has been taught us from abroad, but its further prosecution;

not a return to the Eton grammar, on the one hand, or chance, on the other, but that details should not be pursued to the exclusion of principles; that the great principle of education should be a regard to the greatest ultimate happiness of the pupil; and that the operation of this principle should be determined by the facts of the pupil's own constitution, as well as by those of his location. This is professed to be the design of every system of education that is offered to notice; but we must acknowledge that we have found it pure and complete only in the quiet administration of parents who make their own good sense their chief guide, and who, while learning from every system, profess none.

Before science had driven chance from the conceptions, and almost from the vocabulary, of wise people, it was perfectly natural that an education of fortuitous influences should be supposed sometimes a very happy, and sometimes a very harmless thing. But now that it is known to a certainty that there is no such thing as chance, and that a continually progressive power is given to the human will (in proportion to the enlargement of human knowledge) over all the agents whose nature can be discerned, it seems as barbarous a proceeding to leave a child to be educated by nature, as to leave it in the woods to be bred up by savages. Man has been learning to modify the influences to which his offspring are exposed. Man is convinced that in course of time he will be able to do this so completely, that, having acquainted himself with the primary conditions of his children's being, he will be able to make them what he chooses: and, by means of the coöperation of a sufficient number of parents, to place the offspring of all in an atmosphere of virtue and wisdom by which their being shall be nourished up to a perfection we may conceive of, but must wait long to witness. We are now somewhere between the extremes of a fortuitous education and a perfectly conducted one. We are bustling and

striving after some special methods in which we are apt to imagine resides general efficacy. We are so eagerly exerting our influence in some particular modes of operation, that we forget our equal responsibility in others. What good principles we have laid hold of, we do not carry out far enough; what specific processes we have found to be good, we are apt to apply too pertinaciously and too generally. Health is not yet, as it may be centuries hence, a matter of course; morals cannot be taught merely by exercising the intellect, nor science by administering to the affections. We make our pupils learned at the expense of their nerves, and pious while we neglect their understandings; and yet exercise and diet are as much under our control as religious influences, and the operations of the reasoning faculty as much as either.

Careful as we should be, therefore, in adopting any new systems of education, our proneness to the partial cultivation of our pupils should make us doubly watchful of those systems which relate only to particular departments of education. Among these is the system of Jacotot, which has nothing to do with physical or moral development, though it advances extraordinary pretensions as far as the intellect is concerned. Now, before we examine these pretensions, we must express our doubts whether this system can by any good management on the part of the teacher be pursued by the pupil with that relish, — whether it can ensure to him those encouragements and rewards which are essential to the healthful prosecution of any study, and to its beneficial moral effects. Of any but the intellectual results of these methods we know nothing; but we feel pretty sure that we could not in childhood have gone through such wearisome labor as is here prescribed without losing more in one way than we could gain in another.

"The Universal Instruction has but one route. The pupil is required to commit to memory the first six books of Telema-

chus, as an introductory exercise. These he must know perfectly, so as to be able to repeat them from one end to the other without the slightest hesitation; and whenever the teacher mentions the first word of a paragraph or sentence, to continue the paragraph or sentence without the omission of a single word. Many persons to whom this has been mentioned have been at once startled at what they considered so vast a requirement, not recollecting, at the same time, that much more, and to infinitely less purpose, is exacted from the pupil by the common method. When the six books of Telemachus, or an equivalent portion of any eminent work in the language which the pupil may be studying, is once thus thoroughly impressed on the memory, his labor is almost all over. Every exercise afterwards required of him is little better than amusement; he is in possession of all the necessary materials, and his mind will almost spontaneously employ them." — "'Learn by heart and understand,' says Jacotot, 'the first six books of Telemaque, or an equivalent portion of any eligible work in the language to be acquired, and repeat it incessantly. Refer every thing else to this, and you will certainly learn the language.' The following is the method proposed by Jacotot, in order to attain that perfect mental retention necessary to the efficient operation of this system. — The pupil must learn every day a sentence, a paragraph, or a page, according as his memory is more or less habituated to this exercise; and he must never fail to repeat all that he has previously learned, from the first word of the book. Thus, if he learns one sentence at first, on the following day he learns the next sentence, but repeats the two, commencing with the first word of that previously learned. The same method is pursued to the end of the sixth book. As, however, this repetition, as the pupil goes on, necessarily occupies much time, it is sometimes found advisable to divide the portion thus accumulating; but still the general repetition of the six books must have place at least twice a week. The oftener the whole is repeated, the more prompt and durable are the results. — It is confessed that the preceding exercise

is tedious and wearisome, and great care is required on the part of the teacher to prevent it from becoming repulsive and disgusting to the pupil. Too much must not at first be exacted. If the child cannot learn a paragraph in a day, let him learn two sentences, one sentence, or even a single word. At all events, he must learn something thoroughly; on the next day he will learn something more, still repeating what has been previously learned; and after a fortnight's practice, there will be little reason to tax him with want of memory. When the pupil knows the first six books thoroughly, it is not necessary to commit the remaining eighteen to memory; but he must read every day some pages of them, with a degree of attention sufficient to enable him to *relate* what they contain. — This second exercise, however, on no account excludes the general or partial repetition of the first six books, which the pupil must go through at least once a week, even when they are fixed immoveably in his memory." — pp. 20, 26, 27.

This "introductory exercise" being finished, the elements of all science and wisdom are to be drawn out, and framed into completeness, by a system of interrogation, which we should think equally wearisome to teacher and pupil. Then follows a system of exercises, all bearing reference to the portions impressed on the memory; and the same (with the exception of the scientific part) has to be gone through with every new language that is learned. If, as it appears to us, all the mental processes which are necessary to the acquisition of the sciences are totally independent of this prodigious exertion of memory, the question comes to this — is this drudgery too heavy a tax to pay for the acquisition of a language? Feeling how our own understanding would be disgusted, and our temper irritated, by such a process, we conclude that it is. We do not doubt Jacotot's promise, "You will certainly learn the language;" but we inquire, "At what cost?"

We have quite as strong a conviction that the intellectual results of such a plan of repetition cannot be good. Let any one's experience declare whether to learn by rote is not to lose the power of judgment and the pleasures of taste, in reference to what is committed to memory. "No, I won't learn it by heart," said a little girl, about a pretty piece of poetry, "because I want to go on liking it." Many who repent of their early voluntary exercises of memory, and who now find that to retain in perfect accuracy is not to enjoy, will sympathize with this child's feeling. They will find how the pleasure arising from choice pieces committed to memory is irrecoverably gone; how impossible it is to reason on, judge, compare, and in any degree appreciate, what, by being retained in words, has lost its power of appealing to other associations. No allurements could incite us, no management could enable us, to reason on any thing presented in a form of words repeated twice a week, with the vigor and freedom with which we should attack new thoughts, or even old ones, presented under a new mode of expression. It is very true that by Jacotot's method a vast quantity of materials are stored up by the pupil; but we doubt whether the power of using them would not disappear during the process of accumulation. If we thought that the proved efficacy of Jacotot's system depended as much as its advocates declare on this particular exercise, we should hesitate to express ourselves as we have done; for wonders have certainly been done in some societies of his disciples abroad. We will explain what we suppose to be the causes of success, when we have given a brief account of the origin and nature of the system.

M. Jacotot, a native of Dijon, being made, in 1818, Professor of the French language at the University of Louvain, found himself called upon to teach the French language to pupils whose native tongue he did not understand. He gave

them Fenelon's Telemaque, with a Dutch translation, which they proceeded to commit to memory, discovering the meaning of the French text by a close comparison with the Dutch version. When thoroughly acquainted with half the first book, they began to compose in French, and succeeded to the astonishment of the Professor himself, who was thus led to the recognition of the great principle of his system — that the best way to learn every thing is to *be told* nothing. Other experiments were tried, in the same manner and with the same success; the pupils being made to acquaint themselves thoroughly with a model, and then to draw all their materials from it, and fashion all their proceedings with a perpetual reference to it. It was found that they spontaneously observed every rule of orthography and grammar, until they proved themselves capable of writing as well as the author of their model-book, as far as style was concerned. Of the degree of resemblance between the style of each pupil and that of his master or fellow-pupil, we are not informed; but we imagine that a diversity of styles can scarcely exist under this method.

It is plain that the grand characteristic of this system is, that the old method of teaching is directly reversed; that the pupil is taught analytically instead of synthetically. This is an all-important difference, and one which will fully account for the beneficial results of Jacotot's plans, without obliging us to admit the desirableness of all the modes in which the principle is applied.

If it was necessary for every mind to go through all the labor which the discovery of the analytical process caused to those benefactors of the race who first made us acquainted with the true method of philosophizing, all who wished for the accelerated progress of science would exclaim against learners being exercised in any but the synthetical mode. It might then be well to accept as articles of belief princi-

ples deduced by the labor of others, and to confine the business of instruction to assistance in the application of those principles. But, since the materials may be and are so prepared as to render the analytical process speedy and easy to learners, since the results are certain, and there is no other method of making pupils sure of their principles, it seems the most evident thing possible that they should go through the whole process in its natural order. The whole process cannot indeed be dispensed with; it is accomplished under the old system as well as the new, as often as any science is thoroughly learned; the only difference (and it is a most important one) being, that in the one case the process is reversed, while in the other it is natural. Take the instance of grammar. On the old plan, the pupil was taught the principles of the science, and most of its details, before he had the slightest notion how to apply them. They remained in his memory, and could not be made his own till he could institute the process of analysis for himself; till he could interpret the grammatical meaning of the language he heard, or read, or used, by his own application of the hitherto senseless rules he had been obliged to lodge in his memory. Then, after all, he had to institute the synthetical process for himself; and when he had done, found that the first attempt to pursue it was just so much extra labor, and the time employed in it just so much time lost.

On the new plan, the pupil hears nothing of the principles and rules of grammar till he is prepared, on a very slight suggestion, to discover and apply them for himself: and as he comes fresh to the subject, and his understanding is interested all the time, he can without delay or disgust proceed to the second part of his task, and compose grammatically immediately after having discovered the principles on which he is to advance. This method, if advantageous in one intellectual process, must be so in all; and as much

of the system of Jacotot as is involved in it has our cordial approbation. We say the same for the Hamiltonian or any other system, whatever may be the extraneous errors or peculiarities of each; our business being with their relation to human welfare, and not with the merits of their discoverers or advocates. Reading, and even writing, is taught on this principle by Jacotot. We have not made the experiment in either case; but we have seen enough of the success attending the sort of half-way method between the old and the new plan which is proposed by Mrs. Williams's syllabic spelling, to be completely alienated from the alphabetical method, and quite disposed to believe that Jacotot's plan may be even better than hers, inasmuch as it embodies the same principle, carried out to a greater length. On Mrs. Williams's plan, (for which she does not claim the merit of discovery,) the pupil is taught the consonants by their real sound, and not by the arbitrary names which serve no earthly purpose that we can divine; then the vowels are taught in conjunction with the consonants; then syllables are learned as pictures. These are easily compounded with each other, and with different consonants, and the pupil can then read; finding out for himself, as it becomes necessary, how the syllables themselves are composed. It will be seen at once that there is a mixture of analysis and synthesis in this. Jacotot allows no such mixture. He teaches all the words of a sentence, from the first, as pictures, dividing them afterwards into syllables, and then into letters. In our young days, it was a hard task to learn the word Constantinople. We lately saw a little girl of four years old, who had not long begun to learn on Mrs. Williams's plan, master the difficulty in a minute. Kuh-on, Con, St-an, Stan, Tin, O, Ple — Constantinople. Jacotot would have made her repeat the word entire, and then divide it, unless (as is most probable) she had previously learned from

shorter exercises to take to pieces and put together for herself. Miss Edgeworth long ago told us how speedily and easily children might learn to read by a method nearly similar to this; and we have no difficulty in believing that Jacotot's pupils learn to read and write in about a fortnight.

We should not be surprised if the golden days of compositors, editors, and postmasters, are coming; for sure we are that the average goodness of hand-writing must be incalculably increased by the abolition of strokes and pot-hooks. Every one who teaches drawing knows that children always get on best when they begin upon a whole subject, provided it be simple enough. A little pupil who sets out with copying a cottage, will draw it well as a whole, or in its separate parts, much sooner than one who begins with a sheet full of perpendicular lines, and goes on to as many horizontal lines, and then to a multitude of doors, and then to chimneys, and then to windows, so that he is heartily tired of all the parts before he is allowed to frame them into a meaning. It is exactly the same with writing, as we had the opportunity of observing long before we heard of Jacotot's system. We knew a little girl who had not begun to learn to write at six years old, which shocked every body but her parents very much. One day, she got hold of a slate on which an exercise was neatly written in small hand. She copied a few words for amusement, and being pleased at the feat, did the same every day: and, in two months, wrote a letter in which the childishness of the thought and expression was curiously contrasted with the beauty of the hand writing.

Having declared our entire approbation of the leading principle of Jacotot's system, (which is not separately insisted on with sufficient earnestness by Mr. Payne,) we pass on to others which are exalted above it in the work before us, as far as italics and large Roman type may be

taken as indications of preëminence. The truth on which the Professor insists much and successfully, that it is not necessary to *explain* in order to *teach*, is clearly involved in what we have announced as the fundamental principle of the system: for, while it is necessary to commence a synthetical course of instruction by the inculcation of rules, an analytical course can best be carried on by furnishing the pupil with materials, and merely suggesting by inquiry the way to make use of them; all impediments and foreign admixtures being at the same time carefully removed.

The favorite maxim of the school of Jacotot is, "All is in all:" their all-comprehensive rule, "Learn something thoroughly, and refer every thing else to it." That truth is one, and that therefore by a thorough discernment of any one of its manifestations all others may be penetrated, no philosopher will be disposed to question: but there may be an unlimited licence in the application of this mighty principle; and the justice of the application depends on the advancement of the investigator. An Angel may evolve all truth from a butterfly's wing; but can we do it? We will suppose that Jacotot may unfold the principles of mathematical science (though we could not) from Telemaque; but have any of his pupils ever done it? Granting that Fenelon himself was all-wise in mathematics, it would seem scarcely possible that the best disciplined pupil should be able to separate elements so multifariously compounded, and to arrange them into a perfect science; and if he could, it would be a round-about way of making the attainment, since, with the same powers, he might achieve the work much more easily by contemplating rocks and seas, or the fixed and moving lights of heaven. But when we further consider that Fenelon was not all-wise in mathematics, that whatever scientific truth there is in his work is amalgamated with error, it is plain that though the winged

ones who guide the spheres, and wield the golden plummet, may draw forth truth pure from its defilements, wherever it may be, nothing can be more hopeless than the endeavour to urge to such an achievement an intellect which has not yet appropriated the very truth it is desired to evolve. The shepherd boy who measures the stars with a beaded string, and cuts his dial in the turf, is making a rapid progress in mathematical science, in comparison with him who is laboring to deduce its principles from Telemaque. The one gathers his knowledge slowly, but directly from the mind of God; the other, if at all, more slowly, indirectly, and deeply tainted with the errors of the intellect through which it has passed. Let it be understood that it is only to the injudicious application of the principle that we object, and that we are ready to admit its practical efficacy, as well as substantial truth, under the restrictions which the present conditions of our intellect render necessary. There are examples enough before us of what may be done with small means, of the ample floods which may be poured out after a long accumulation of single drops from the minutest crevice, to authorize us to teach that "all is in all." What we question is, whether there is any occasion to filter, when the element may be had pure; and, further, whether the acts of detecting the source, and drawing out its contributions, do not presuppose that the labor is unnecessary. The prevalence of this presupposition strikes us more than any thing else in Mr. Payne's account of Jacotot's system. He would have us believe that the pupils learn every thing from Telemaque, while it is evident, all the while, that they must have elsewhere learned to observe, to compare, to judge, to abstract and generalize, and, in short, to philosophize: and when this is done, it matters comparatively little what subjects are placed before the mind. The method by which the intellect is here taught

to philosophize is the same as that by which all sound intellects have ever philosophized. We approve it, of course; and respect M. Jacotot for the success with which he has used it; but it has nothing to do with Telemaque, or any other book whatever, and is peculiar to no system of education. The most extraordinary instance of presupposition that we have met with is the following: "Jacotot asserts that the youngest child can comprehend thoroughly the terms representing the most complex abstract notions; that is, if he previously well understands all the simple subordinate notions contained in those that are complex." This is tantamount to a declaration that an infant a year old may compose an oratorio, IF he understands the laws of musical proportion, and their accordance with religious sentiment, together with the practical workings of the orchestra.

These remarks have left us little to say upon the rule, "Learn something thoroughly, and refer every thing else to it," but that, though practically useful when sufficiently restricted, it is pernicious in the extreme when applied without limitation. Since "all is in all," every thing *may* be learned by a reference to one thing; but whence comes all the prejudice of little minds, all the professional narrowness, all the sectarian bigotry, all the aristocratic exclusiveness, with which the world is cursed, but from the practice of referring all things to one thing? We know that neither M. Jacotot nor Mr. Payne could have contemplated so large an application of their principle as this. They would not recommend a beeman to look for all truth through the glass of his hive; nor a chemist to bring an opera to the test of his crucible: and are doubtless as ready as ourselves to laugh at the philosophers of Laputa riding their hobbies: but why leave to their readers to determine the bounds of their principle? Why needlessly provoke doubt or ridi-

cule? Furthermore, we doubt the efficacy of the rule as far as they themselves carry it. If the reference was made to a sound *principle*, there could be no mistake; for there indeed would all be in all: but the reference is to be made to some emanation of the human intellect, (whether Fenelon's or some other,) to something imperfect, impure, and which must therefore be superseded. A necessary consequence is, that exact truth can scarcely be attainable by such means; and there is every danger that the intellect will be cramped, and the moral views distorted, by this subservience to something fallible, if not antiquated. Could Newton have framed his philosophy from the study of the best orrery that was ever made, before his time or since? Till there is a divinely-constituted model presented, no exclusive dependence can be safe; no perpetual reference may be ventured on; no calculations founded on such a reference can be accurate; no deductions drawn from it can be pronounced perfect, until sanctioned by other authority. Again, Newton might undoubtedly have developed his system by studying one constellation alone; but would this have been his wisest way, the surest, the speediest, the simplest? Certainly not. Neither is it the readiest way to verify the moral dicta of Massillon to recur to the "facts" of the fiction of Fenelon.

"To show how the principle is verified, the teacher opens any author, — Massillon, for instance, and reads,

"'Pleasure is the first thing that endangers our innocence. The other passions develope themselves, and ripen (so to speak) only with the advancement of reason.'

"The pupil is asked if he can verify the reflections of Massillon by the facts of Fenelon; and he answers in the following manner: — Telemachus yielding to pleasure in the island of Cyprus, shows that *pleasure endangers innocence*, and it is the *first thing*; because on the first occasion in which Telemachus found himself exposed to peril, pleasure was the

cause. The *other passions*, &c. — this is seen by Telemachus in the camp of the allies, by Idomeneus," &c.

We will try another experiment. We open a modern work on Political Economy,* of high reputation, and read, "The general principle that town and country thrive at the expense of each other, I believe to be quite erroneous." The pupil is desired to verify this opinion (unquestionably sound) by a reference to his model-book. He *may*, by patient examination, find some truth from whence he can deduce the soundness of the opinion; but the first thing which will strike him is a passage in the most direct contradiction to it: viz. that in which Mentor and Telemachus converse on the altered state of Salentum. Now what is to be done? Fenelon knew nothing of Political Economy, and was wrong. Is the pupil to believe him, or a less antiquated teacher of the science? And what is to be the strength of his faith in his model-book henceforth? For grammar let him refer perpetually to a model, for a perfect model may be found; but not for style, much less for science, and east of all for morals, should he be confined to one production, be the mind whence it emanates what it may — as pious as Fenelon's, as philosophical as Newton's, or as refined as Michael Angelo's. If we were obliged to choose a model-book, it should be one very unlike Telemaque, even in all its original beauty. It should be a very careful selection of Fables, where deep moral and scientific truth should be embodied in the best forms of narrative, and where there might be a union of the beauties of fact, sentiment, and style. But no book could serve the purpose well or permanently but one absolutely divine. We have no fear of any part of the Scriptures being seized upon for the objects of the system; as it is clearly understood from

* Conversations on Political Economy.

he beginning that the book itself must be sacrificed; — must from being anatomized, and in that state kept for ever before the eyes of the student, lose not only its entireness and grace, but become recognised only in its mutilated parts, and be regarded with loathing for ever.

We have now considered all that is peculiar to the system of Jacotot: for the modes of interrogation described by Mr. Payne must vary with the varieties of teachers and pupils, and be, moreover, only such as would be practised under any other system of instruction which has any utility in it at all. We will only remark that there are many modes of suggesting and stimulating to inquiry, besides mere interrogation; and, knowing how wearisome and irritating the interrogative practice becomes to children, we cannot but hope that all the examinations of Jacotot's school are not conducted by question and answer only, as is the case with those presented in the pamphlet before us. The merit of this far-famed system appears to us to reside in its extensive substitution of the analytical for the synthetical method. The use made of this method in teaching reading, writing, grammar, and all the sciences, we approve as fully as our observation, reflection, and partial experience, authorize us in pronouncing; and we admire the courage with which M. Jacotot has pushed this principle further than it has ever before been systematically carried in the business of education. Of the subordinate parts of his plan we do not think so well, though it is upon these that he and his followers set the highest value. An exclusive attachment to any model-book whatever we consider highly objectionable, and are too well convinced of the injurious effects of the laborious and irksome repetition required in disgusting the learner, and cramping his intellectual powers, to wish to see it adopted for the sake of any possible advantage it may offer in learning a language.

We much doubt whether there be not already a prevalent sameness of thought and style among the compositions of Jacotot's pupils; and whether, among a certain number, faithfully and exclusively educated on his principles, a fair average will arise of independent thinkers, — of men of free intellect, who will do as much for their race as their master has probably done. Fluent writers, cultivated readers, ready-witted speakers, will probably issue from his schools in abundance; but for a higher order of intellect than theirs we shall have, we imagine, to look elsewhere. This system has done much by making its disciples "learn something thoroughly," which is more than can be said for some other modern systems; and, by doing this, it has opened the way for various and extensive future improvements which were not originally anticipated. Thus it is with all reforms. They do something that was intended; they fall short of much that was intended; and they ultimately effect a vast deal that never was intended. Jacotot's system will initiate many into the analytical process, at the beginning, instead of the middle part of their course. It will not long or advantageously keep up its practice of repetition, and it will be obliged to limit its rule of reference; but it will suggest new systems which, in their turn, will have partial success; and be, in due course, improved upon.

As we feel that we have scarcely sanctioned our remarks sufficiently by extracts from the Exposition of the system before us, we proceed, in justice to it and to ourselves, to give a passage in which the principles of Jacotot, and the practice of the old school, are contrasted with much force and truth:

"It may not be amiss to consider, in the first instance, what is generally meant by the expression — *learning a thing*. To learn any thing is evidently not the same as to forget it; yet we might almost imagine it were, by referring a moment

to the common plan pursued in the old method. Will any one maintain that, speaking generally, at the end of his seven years or more of school instruction, he actually recollects one thousandth part of the facts that have been brought before him, or the observations that have been addressed to him, connected with the course of tuition? A considerable portion of all this combined mass of information has remained perfectly unintelligible to him, from the first moment that it was introduced to his notice, to the time at which he throws down his books and enters on the world. He perceived neither the end nor the design of it; and perhaps even the terms in which it was expressed were never thoroughly comprehended, although repeated incessantly in his hearing. In illustration of this it may be asked, Does one child in a hundred *understand* a single page of that book which is put into his hands as soon as he can read, and over which he pores, year after year, and at length by dint of constant repetition, has thoroughly impressed on his memory — the English Grammar?" (An exposure of the incomprehensibility of grammar rules follows.) "The same remarks will apply, more or less, to many others of the generalities which, in the common course of instruction, a pupil is called upon to learn, but which he cannot, from a want of the information previously requisite, understand. Even, however, supposing that he does actually acquire a number of useful facts, they form in his mind an *indigesta moles*, a shapeless mass, in which he perceives neither order nor connexion. He has not been taught by the method of Jacotot to refer every thing learned for the first time to something previously learned; and he cannot, therefore, perceive the relation which the latter bears to the former. But there must necessarily exist a relation. Unless the parts of the book committed to memory had been connected with each other in the mind of the author, he would, of course, have produced a disorderly patchwork of incoherent facts. But this is not the case, at least in any approved work; and if this be not the case, if it was necessary for the author to see clearly the end and aim of

all that he proposed to write in order to convey a connected idea of the subject to the reader, it must be equally necessary for the reader, if he wishes to understand the subject as well as the author, to gain possession of the entire series of facts which compose the subject as presented to his views. This, however, cannot be done, unless the pupil is taught to connect what he learns one day with all that he has learned, relating to the same subject, on every previous day, from the time when it was first urged on his attention. But the facts forgotten cannot, of course, be connected with those remembered; though it is easily seen that, were these supplied, the whole subject would be before the mind. This leads again to the remark previously made, that scarcely a thousandth part of what is learned (using the word in its conventional sense) at school, is retained for use in the actual business of life; though this most evidently was the ostensible purpose throughout the entire course. — If the considerations here adduced be thought to have any weight, they must evince one of two things,— either the positive incapacity of pupils of the usual scholastic age to comprehend any subject in the manner referred to, or the defectiveness of the customary method of tuition. It would be impossible, in the face of countless instances in opposition, to maintain the former assertion. If a child can be made to commit to memory and understand one sentence, for instance, there seems no physical obstacle to his doing the same with another, still retaining the first in his memory by constant repetition, and thus connecting the new fact with all that preceded it. This is the method of Jacotot, and he has proved incontestibly both the possibility and effectiveness of such a process."— As to the fitness of the old systems of education to the purposes for which instruction is valuable — "Two or three facts, from which the inferences requisite to the view now intended may be drawn, are sufficiently obvious to the personal experience of all. After sedulously going through all the manœuvres of instruction for several years, we come from school to begin our education afresh, according to the particular objects which it

may be desirable for us to attain in life. We are in possession, indeed, of a vast number of facts, but they lie for the most part unconnectedly and incoherently in the mind. Of a number of others we have a loose and vague notion, just sufficient to admit of consciousness that they exist and have names attached to them, which names we know well, without knowing the things themselves. Still less, however, in these latter fragments of knowledge than in the former do we perceive any sort of coherency or natural connexion : and upon a review of the whole of our acquirements during the long time that we have been employed in making them, the feeling which takes full possession of our mind is, that nine-tenths of all that we learned has been forgotten ; that we are well acquainted with no one subject whatever ; and that in nearly every point which most concerns us, we are

'Unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek.'

"But, by the system of Jacotot, the faculties of the mind are kept in constant action, from the commencement to the end of the course of instruction ; the first acquisitions, as well as all that succeed, are permanently retained, and accordingly every thing learned once is learned for ever." — pp. 2 – 6.

If we ever learn any more languages, we shall be tempted to begin on this system, which seems to us admirably calculated to help such an achievement. Our readers will judge for themselves of the Synopsis of the Method; and as for the introduction to Latin, — the Epitome Historiæ Sacræ, — it can scarcely be too highly praised. The style rises from extreme simplicity (through a most ingenious choice of parallel idioms) to a considerable degree of involution; and the pupil is led on insensibly from phrases so inartificial that he cannot mistake them, to paragraphs of easy and even elegant Latinity. This little work, originally compiled by M. L'Homond, Emeritus Professor in the University of Paris, is used as an introduction to the Latin language in nearly all the Jacototian establishments on the continent.

— We give the Synopsis of the method of learning a language; and (by way of specimen of the plan of the work) the first and the last sections of the Epitome, by contrasting which the extent of the pupil's progress may be perceived:

"*Make yourself master of some one book written in the language you wish to acquire:* that is, commit it to memory — repeat it incessantly — take notice of every sentence, phrase, word, and syllable it contains — study and compare these facts of the language, and analyze them first in the aggregate, then in the detail, so as ultimately to obtain a thorough knowledge of their minutest elements. *Refer, by continual reflection, all or any other books in the language to the one you have mastered:* that is, compare every sentence, phrase, word, and syllable that you meet with afterwards with those of the book you have learned, and thus make what you know serviceable in interpreting and acquiring what you do not yet know. And, in the last place, *verify the observations of others by what you know yourself;* that is, read the remarks that have been made on the language as you find them in grammars, books of idioms, dissertations on style, &c. Try or put to the proof the correctness of these remarks, by comparing them with the general observations you have yourself made on the facts that you know: you will thus systematize your knowledge, and ultimately master the language." — Epitome, p. vii.

I.	1.
"Deus creăvit cœlum et terram intra sex dies.	"God created the heaven and the earth within six days.
Primo die fecit lucem.	On the first day he made light.
Secundo die fecit firmamentum, quod vocavit cœlum.	On the second day he made the firmament, which he called heaven.
Tertio die coëgit aquas in unum locum, et eduxit è terrâ plantas et arbŏres.	On the third day he brought the waters together into one place, and drew out of the earth plants and trees.

Quarto die fecit solem, et lunam, et stellas.

Quinto die, aves quæ volĭtant in aĕre, et pisces qui natant in aquis.

Sexto die fecit omnia animantia, postrēmò homĭnem, et quiēvit die septĭmo." — Epitome, pp. 2, 3.

On the fourth day he made the sun, and the moon, and the stars.

On the fifth day he made the birds which fly about in the air, and the fishes which swim in the waters.

On the sixth day he made all living creatures, lastly man, and rested on the seventh day."

CXCII.

"Mortuo Aristobulo, Alexander ejus filius regnavit : is nullâ re memorabili gestâ decessit: duos reliquit filios, qui acriter de regno inter se decertârunt.

Hujus dissidii occasione, Pompeius, populi Romāni dux, in Judæam venit, specie quidem restituendæ inter fratres concordiæ, revērà ut istam provinciam Romano adjungĕret imperio : Judæam stipendiariam populi Romani fecit.

Paulò post regnum Judæa invasit Herōdes alienigĕna : hunc primum Judæi habuerunt regem et aliâ gente ortum, eoque regnante natus est Christus, utì prædixerant prophetæ." — Epitome, pp. 124, 125.

192.

"After the death of Aristobulus, his son Alexander reigned. He died without performing any distinguished action, and left two sons, who contended most obstinately for the possession of the kingdom.

Pompey, the general of the Roman people, availing himself of this dissension, came into Judea, under pretext of restoring concord between the brothers, but in reality with the design of attaching that province to the Roman empire : he rendered Judæa tributary to the Roman people.

A short time after, the kingdom of Judæa was seized by Herod, a foreigner. He was the first king of another nation that ruled over the Jews ; and in his reign Jesus Christ was born, as the prophets had foretold."

ESSAYS ON THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH.*

* * * * * *

We have denied ourselves the pleasure of a more extended notice of the first two Essays, from a desire to enlarge upon the contents of the third, (on the Uniformity of Causation,) which forms by far the most important portion of the volume, as the positions it is intended to establish induce more momentous consequences than almost any others in the whole range of human inquiry. It contains little that is new; but the abstruse questions which formerly were debated among the learned alone are here presented in a manner likely to engage the attention of many who have hitherto been strangers to their attraction. As the influence of this Essay may therefore be powerful and extensive, it is of considerable consequence whether its reasonings are sound, and its conclusions just. If not, the time will be well bestowed which is employed in exposing their fallacy.

The two principal questions, to the elucidation of which our author's reasonings tend, are the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, and the determination of the legitimate bounds of Testimony.

The first chapter is "On the Assumption implied in all our Expectations, that like Causes will produce like Effects, or of the future Uniformity of Causation."

The first declaration that we meet with is, that the belief in the uniformity of causation is an instinctive principle. We doubt it. Have we any belief in the connexion of

* Essays on the Pursuit of Truth, the Progress of Knowledge, and on the Fundamental Principle of all Evidence and Expectation. By the Author of "Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions." London: Hunter. 1829.

cause and effect antecedent to experiment? And if the idea of such connexion is only suggested by experience, is not the principle of Association, which is at the same time the agent in a multitude of other processes, sufficient to account for the belief? "A burned child dreads the fire," not from an instinctive belief that fire always burns, but because the pain of the burn is associated in his mind with the sight of the fire. If he were assured that the same fire which hurts him would not burn his nurse, he would be less incredulous on the subject than his nurse would be, if a similar assurance was made to her: and she, again, might be more easily induced to credit so extraordinary a declaration than the philosopher who understands the theory of combustion. Such degrees of persuasion, we conceive, could not exist, were the minds of these three persons actuated by an instinctive principle. It is unphilosophical to multiply principles unnecessarily; and it appears to us that the belief in question is generated by association. All the circumstances of life tend so strongly to confirm it, that a very short experience is sufficient to establish it too firmly to be overthrown; and the assumption of the uniformity of causation becomes the basis of all action, the essential principle of all expectation.

The author carefully points out to his readers the distinction between the physical truth that the same causes produce the same effects, and the mental fact that we assume, or take for granted, this uniformity in the operation of causes. In speaking of the former, he uses the phrase Uniformity of Causation: the latter, he terms an assumption of the uniformity of causation. We prefer the term Uniformity of Causation to that of Necessary Connexion, because our ignorance of the nature of the connexion forbids us to term it necessary or inevitable. Of the essences of substances we have no knowledge, and can form no conception;

and our acquaintance with their qualities extends no further than the fact of their mutual operation. Their mode of operation is still concealed from us, and while this is the case, we can with no propriety speak of the necessary connexion of causes and effects. Were the nature of the connexion ascertained by us, we might be able to pronounce on the cause of an unprecedented phenomenon, antecedent to experiment; which it is well known is beyond our power. A gardener on the coast of Jersey was surprised to find, one year, that four or five strawberry plants bore fruit of a larger size and finer flavor than had ever been seen in the island, while their neighbours of the same bed were of the ordinary size. In order to account for the appearance, the gardener, who was a sensible man, examined the soil, and endeavoured to remember whether any peculiar mode of culture had been employed on the plants. Unable to detect the cause by reflection, he tried experiments, adding various ingredients to the soil; first one, then another, then a compound of several; but without success. At length he consulted his assistant, and discovered, on inquiry, that his children had deposited bunches of sea-weed on the spot where the plants grew. More sea-weed was applied with good effect, and from that time the strawberry beds were annually manured with its ashes; the gardener having had sufficient experience of its efficacy to believe that his trouble would not be in vain; though his total ignorance of the mode in which the sea-weed operated on the fibres and juices of the plants would have made him hesitate (had he been a metaphysican) to declare that its influence was *necessary*. Our author, while he adopts the term we prefer, appears to assume the truth of that which we reject: believing the uniformity of causation, and necessary connexion of cause and effect, to be interchangeable terms. In this part of the Essay, he avoids the use of the term *neces-*

sary, while he assumes the truth of the signification we ascribe to it. This assumption is consistent with his belief in the instinctive nature of the principle which forms the ground of his argument; but it seems to us to be erroneous.

In the second chapter, the writer points out the fact, (of considerable importance to his object,) that while philosophers have been engaged in laying down the belief of the uniformity of causation as a ground for future expectation, they have neglected the consideration that it applies as well to the past as to the future; and have forgotten to argue that like causes not only *will produce*, but *have produced*, like effects.

If the *necessary* connexion of causes and effects be allowed, and if we admit our belief of this connexion to be instinctive, no proof of the above position is needed. But if not, if the connexion be only *uniform*, it is obvious that the author is already begging the question which he designs afterwards to present to his readers. From instinct there is no appeal; but how is experience to assure us that like causes have always produced like effects? The author affirms with us that it cannot. It is necessary here to make an extract.

"This assumption of the past uniformity of causation will be apparent on the slightest reflection. To have recourse again to our instance of throwing paper into the fire: it is obvious that I not only expect the paper to be burnt, but I assume that fire has always possessed the property of consuming that substance. As a proof that this assumption is involved in my thoughts, it is only necessary to trace the process of my mind in rejecting a narration at variance with my own experience. Should any one assert, that, at a former period of his life, he had thrown paper into the fire, suffered it to remain for five minutes in the flames, and then taken it out unscorched and unconsumed, I should instantly regard the relation as false, and should think it a sufficient refutation to throw a piece of paper into the fire, and thus prove to the narrator the impossibility of what he had asserted. But

why could not paper have remained in the flames for five minutes unconsumed? Because the experiment before us proves that fire has the property of destroying it. Should any one push his inquiries further, and ask why, because you find that fire has at present this property, do you infer that it has always possessed it? I can only reply, that it is an assumption which I necessarily make. I cannot even think of the past without taking it for granted that the same causes have produced the same effects in every age and every country." — p. 202.

Our reasons for doubting the assertion would be that men make mistakes and tell falsehoods every day, while fire has always been known to burn. But, at the same time, there is a kind and degree of testimony which would oblige us to believe the declaration, for reasons to be detailed hereafter, when we come to speak of the legitimate bounds of testimony. Our answer to the second question would be, that our belief that fire has always burned arises from a principle which we have no reason to mistrust, though we would be far from engaging never to renounce our belief. The astronomer, therefore, is justified not only in confidently predicting eclipses many centuries before they happen, but also in particularizing with equal confidence the courses of the heavenly bodies, thousands of years before the date of authentic history.

As the author appears to be himself much impressed with the importance of applying the fact he has labored to establish to past as well as future events, we looked for some striking development of consequences, some illustrations of the history of human nature, some interpretations of past events which would throw light on the philosophy of matter or of mind; something more than hints or assertions of the value of the object presented. But none such did we find in this place. Before we had finished the volume, however, we became aware, that though the author

has carefully avoided the development of the consequences which he desires his readers to infer, he makes this chapter the basis of his reasonings on the legitimate bounds of testimony, which will be examined in their proper place.

From our preceding remarks it will be seen that we agree with the author in the reasonings of his third chapter, which proves that the uniformity of causation cannot be established by experience and testimony.

The next three chapters are excellent. Their object is to establish and illustrate the fact that the uniformity of causation is justly a basis of action and expectation, with respect to mental as well as physical operations. That this truth is not generally allowed by philosophers appears to us extraordinary in every point of view; and more especially, when we consider that they, as well as all other men, act as if possessed of the conviction we wish them to entertain. If two or three philosophers see a guinea presented to a miser, they all expect him to accept it eagerly; and if he refuses it, they all agree, (whatever may be the difference of their opinions respecting a self-determining power,) in supposing that some motive of extraordinary force influences him in his act of rejection. No one of them would believe that, in any age, a drunkard has refused wine, a school-boy a holiday, a warrior his laurels, or a poet his bays, without an inducement to such rejection. Every wise parent forms some expectation of the results of the discipline he employs in the education of his children. If such results do not appear, he concludes that some influence of which he is unaware is operating: and a diligent examination probably displays to him the cause of his failure. He never believes that while all influences tend to render his child's temper amiable, that temper becomes violent or sullen without cause. He inquires into the state of his health, his intercourse with his play-fellows, his treatment in the nursery, &c., and if

all his research is in vain, he concludes that some symptoms of disease will soon appear, or some hidden influence be made manifest. The last supposition to which he would resort is, that his child's state will be for ever unaccountable, and ought not to be deemed surprising, as no cause may exist for the appearances he deplores. We here quote our author with pleasure.

"It has been already remarked, that when we throw a piece of paper into the fire, we do it under the expectation that the paper will be consumed. In like manner, when I write a letter to a friend, I do it under the impression that his intellectual qualities will continue the same as I have hitherto found them; and that the associations established in his mind, between certain words and certain ideas, will be the same as heretofore. I take for granted that the black marks in my letter will continue to introduce into his mind the thoughts which I design to convey, just as I take for granted that lead will sink in water, or snow melt in the sun: and in addressing my arguments to his understanding, I proceed on the assumption of its retaining all its usual powers. This holds in respect not only to individuals, but to mankind at large. The predictions of the astronomer, to which I have already alluded, proceed on the assumption, not only that the heavenly bodies will continue to be governed by the same laws, but that mankind, in after ages, will retain the same faculties as they now possess.

"With regard to the operations of the understanding, the fact will be at once admitted. If there is any difficulty in the matter, it must attach to the question whether the same uniformity of causation is assumed in the case of affections, passions, and volitions. But we shall discern no difference in this respect amongst all these classes of mental phenomena. With regard to all, we unavoidably proceed on the same assumption. When I announce to my friend the accomplishment of some wish long cherished in his heart, I confidently anticipate the joy which my communication will excite; ex-

actly on the same principle which leads me to expect that the stone which I throw into the air will fall to the ground. When I enter a bookseller's shop to purchase a book, I as fully calculate on his parting with the volume for the customary price, as I presume on the combustion of paper when thrown into the fire. If I attempt to persuade a fellow-creature to refrain from a meditated crime, my advice proceeds on the same assumption, that similar moral effects will follow the moral causes with which they have been hitherto found conjoined. I point out, perhaps, the consequences of the action in rousing the indignation of mankind, and leading them to inflict punishment on the perpetrator; or I endeavour to show the remorse by which it will be pursued in his own breast. And if he were to ask me how I could tell that these effects would follow, I should answer, that they had been found to do so in similar cases. Should he proceed still further in his inquiries, should he request to know how I could tell that the same effects would again attend the same causes, I could merely answer, that the assumption of this uniformity of sequence was a necessary condition of thought, which neither he nor myself could avoid; and that his own questions afforded an instance of it, since they proceeded upon the expectation, not only that his words would reach my ears, as in times past, but that certain ideas and volitions would be excited in my mind as heretofore, the result of which would be an answer to his inquiries.

"It may be objected, however, that our confidence in these cases is not so great as it is in regard to physical events; that there is always more or less of uncertainty in our anticipations; that my correspondent may not be able to read my letter, since he may have lost his memory; that my other friend may have changed his views, and may feel no joy at the accomplishment of his wishes; that the bookseller may refuse to part with his volumes; and that in the last hypothetical case adduced, mankind may no longer feel incensed at those actions which formerly roused their indignation.

"The reply to this objection is not difficult. In all these cases there is no want of faith in the uniformity of causation: our uncertainty by no means relates to the principle itself, but to the point whether all the same causes, and no other, are in operation: and if the event at any time turn out contrary to our expectations, we feel well assured of the presence of some extraordinary cause — an assurance evidently proceeding on the assumption, that if the causes had been the same, the effects must also have been similar. Thus, if my correspondent is unable to read my letter, if he no longer connects any meaning with the written words, I am convinced that some extraordinary calamity has befallen him. If the bookseller refuse to sell me his volumes, I feel no hesitation in ascribing his conduct to some particular motive not usually at work in his mind: all proving, not that there is a want of uniformity in the sequence of causes and effects, but that there is a different assemblage of causes; that some essential circumstance has been left out, or some unusual one crept into the accustomed combination." — p. 220.

That our certainty and uncertainty, in relation to moral, are of the same nature as in relation to physical events, is clearly shown by a perspicuous method of comparison. Physical events are divided into four classes in which the issues are anticipated with different degrees of assurance, while the conviction of the connexion of cause and effect remains unshaken; and voluntary actions are afterwards classified in a similar manner.

1st. Some events are observed to be so invariably connected with others, that when one takes place, we feel perfectly sure that another will follow; as, when lead is about to be put into water, we expect it to sink; when flame is applied to gunpowder, we anticipate an explosion. These consequences will follow if the antecedents be employed; but whether they will be employed, is yet uncertain.

The second class comprehends events whose causes are in actual operation, and which may therefore be confidently predicted; as the eclipses of the sun and moon.

The third includes those phenomena which, being beyond the reach of human foresight, are to us uncertain; as the state of the wind and weather, and a multitude of others. — Analogous in point of uncertainty to these are many events connected with those concerning which we feel perfect assurance. For instance, we predict that an elastic ball thrown against a hard floor will rebound; but the precise curve it will describe, and in what part of the floor its motion will cease, must be ascertained by experiment.

In the fourth class are included events which may be predicted in the gross, but not in the detail; such as the regular return of the seasons.

The corresponding classes of voluntary actions are shown to afford corresponding degrees of assurance in our anticipations. We calculate, that if a man be hungry, he will eat; if in danger of fire, that he will attempt to escape, &c. If it be objected that a hungry man may refuse to eat, it is replied, that some motive to abstinence then interferes. In like manner, lead may not sink in water (a lump of cork may buoy it up); but in both cases, the result is influenced by an adventitious circumstance. Again; some voluntary actions may be confidently predicted, their antecedents being in actual operation; as, that speeches will be made in the present session of parliament; that the tradesmen in the next town will shut their shops on Sunday, and so on. The third class is the most numerous, comprehending the majority of the actions of mankind. Like the wind and weather, meteors and water-spouts, those actions of men of which we see not the springs, are uncertain: and the various degrees of uncertainty closely correspond with the analogous class of physical events.

The correspondence between the events of the fourth class is equally complete. The toil of the husbandman may be anticipated with the return of the spring, though we know not the detail of his labors. Men will eat and sleep, during the next year, we are assured; though at what hours, and with what individual exceptions, we cannot declare.

The illustrations of the doctrine in question in the sixth chapter are so apt and beautiful, that we cannot help making a long extract:

"The principal illustration, however, which I have to adduce on this subject, is the science of political economy, especially as it will afford, at the same time, an opportunity of exhibiting the real basis of this science, which has not, perhaps, been fully understood, even by some of those who have been successful in the discovery and elucidation of its truths.

"The principle which is at the bottom of all the reasonings of political economy, is in fact the uniformity with which visible or assignable circumstances operate on the human will. It is, for example, laid down in books on this subject, that if a community can purchase any commodity on lower terms at one market than another, they will resort to the cheaper market; and on this proposition an economist builds a large superstructure of argument, without the least doubt as to the foundation on which it rests, and confidently predicts what will be the conduct of this or that nation to whom such a choice of markets is offered. The result thus predicted is made up of the actions of individuals, all of whose minds are determined by this assignable circumstance.

"Another principle of political economy is, that where competition is left open, there a certain equality takes place in the profits of the various branches of commerce. If any one branch becomes much more lucrative than the rest, a flow of capital to that department soon restores the equilibrium. This principle is explained by Adam Smith in the case of the builder." (Which passage we must however omit.)

"Now, when Dr. Smith asserts that the trade of a builder, under the circumstances supposed, will draw capital from other trades, he is not stating a physical fact which will take place in consequence of some material attraction; but he is laying down a result which will ensue from the known principles of the human mind, or, in other words, from motives acting on society with certainty and precision. The secession of capital from other trades is not a mechanical effect, like the motion of water to its level, but the consequence of a number of voluntary actions. It is an event which is produced through the medium of the wills of human beings, although we reason upon it with as much certainty as on the tendency of water to an equilibrium.

"In employing such figurative expressions as these, in exalting trade and capital into spontaneous agents, and investing them with certain qualities and tendencies, we are apt to be deceived by our own language, to imagine that we have stated the whole of the truth, and to lose sight of all those mental operations concerned in the result which we so concisely express. Let us reflect for a moment on all the intellectual and moral processes which lie hid under the metaphorical description of the trade of a builder drawing capital from other trades. To produce this result, the fact must transpire that the trade is more than ordinarily lucrative; this circumstance must excite the cupidity or emulation of a number of individuals; these individuals must deliberate on the prudence or propriety of embarking in it; they must resolve upon their measures; they must take steps for borrowing money, or withdraw capital before appropriated to other purposes, and apply it to this; in doing which, they will probably have to enter into bargains, make sales, draw bills, and perform a hundred other voluntary actions; the result of all which operations will be the employment of a greater portion of the labor of the community in building than formerly, and a smaller portion in other pursuits; and all these, with a number of other occurrences, are masked under the phrase of one trade drawing capital from another.

"It is the same throughout the whole science of political economy. The rise and fall of prices, the fluctuations in exchange, the vicissitudes of supply and demand, the return of excessive issues of paper on the bankers, the disappearance of specie, the depreciation of the currency, and various other events, are to be traced to certain determinate causes acting with regularity on the wills of bodies of men: all these phrases are in fact expressions of the results of voluntary actions. Such circumstances furnish as striking instances of perfect vaticination with regard to the determinations of the will as any that can be produced from physical science. Political economy is in a great measure an inquiry into the operation of motives, and proceeds on the principle that the volitions of mankind are under the influence of precise and ascertainable causes."—p. 242.

We have now arrived at the most important part of the Essay; at the point to which the author's reasonings tend. The author would conduct his readers to the rejection of miracles. To this long-contested subject he does not advert in plain terms; but that to overthrow the testimony on which their credibility rests is his aim, cannot but be as clearly understood by his readers as he intends it should be: and we suppose that the reason why he is not more explicit is, that he is aware that the subject is old and wearisome to the friends of Christianity, who may well be tired of replying to arguments which, however frequently refuted, are still urged anew. The only novelty which we can observe in the chapter before us is the omission of well-worn terms. The arguments are well-worn; and we, therefore, fear that our statement of them and reply will be tedious to those who are familiar with the subject. But silence would be inexcusable. We proceed to give a close analysis of this chapter.

The only kind of vaticination or foresight which we can conceive, arises from the assumption of the uniformity of

causation. The same assumption affords the only means by which we can interpret the past. In the latter case we reverse the proceeding, inferring causes from their effects; as when, on arriving at a deserted and dilapidated building, whose chimney is blackened by smoke, and whose apartments are overspread by vegetation, we infer that human beings have erected and inhabited it, and forsaken it at no recent time. We reject the supposition that it fell from the clouds, or sprang up from the ground. This is an instance of physical evidence. But human testimony is a much more important source of information respecting past events.

If testimony proceeds from men of tried integrity, under the influence of motives favorable to veracity, we believe it; because such circumstances are the antecedents of true testimony, and the more striking the concurrence of testimony, the stronger the evidence, because the more clear the operation of a cause in producing a similar effect in many minds.

We proceed, then, on the same principle, in the use of testimony and of physical evidence. But in the former there is a peculiarity which does not belong to the latter. In the former, we have not only certain effects from which it is our task to infer the causes, and *vice versâ*, but the testimony itself consists of the assertion of facts; and the nature of the facts asserted often forms part of the grounds on which the veracity of the testimony is determined. While external circumstances tend to confirm the testimony, the nature of the facts tends to invalidate it. The mind may be exactly in equilibrio between the two difficulties, and must have recourse to the same assumption for the solution of both. In some cases, the opposition of fact and testimony is yet greater. Assertions are made which imply a breach of the uniformity of causation. In such cases, the assertions are to be immediately rejected, as no deviation from the uni-

formity of causation can be admitted. — Instance: A person declares that a cubic inch of ice exposed by him to a temperature of 200 degrees of Fahrenheit retained its solidity at the expiration of an hour. The discrepancy of the facts is not to be overcome by any proof of the validity of the testitimony. The testimony of a great number of philosophers to the same fact, under circumstances the most favorable to veracity, and secured from error or deception, is likewise to be rejected; because the only argument in its favor is the uniformity of causation, which is, at the same time, declared to be violated with respect to the physical event. If the testimony be admitted, the certainty of causation must be allowed to be greater in the mental than in the physical world; which assumption is unfounded. Thus the important rule is established that no testimony can prove a breach of the uniformity of causation in physical events.

If it be objected that, in either case, a deviation from the law of causation is admitted, and why more readily in one than the other? It is replied, that we have a more accurate knowledge of physical than of moral causes; and the operation of many may be verified by experiment. Should a man declare himself to have been an eye-witness of an incredible event, it is as easy to believe the law of causation violated in his person, as in the instance he asserts; that his eyes and tongue have proved unfaithful, as that a cause has produced an inappropriate effect.

As testimony cannot prove the uniformity of causation, because it reaches only a limited number of events; so neither can it prove the contrary. If we assume this principle antecedent to all testimony, and in the reception of testimony, we cannot subsequently discard it on the strength of the same species of evidence.

The previous observation, that human testimony is by far the most important kind of evidence, is qualified by the state-

ment that the proofs of the being of a God belong to the class of physical evidences. The belief in the uniformity of causation affords the ground-work of arguments for a Supreme Intelligence from appearances of wise and benevolent design.

Such is the substance of our author's argument.

His first position does not please us. The belief in the uniformity of causation affords the only ground of anticipation which we need, and on which we act; but it is not the only one we can conceive, or which we acknowledge to have ever existed. Prophecy is independent of all reasoning, and of all assumption of the uniformity of causation. Our author, therefore, seems to disbelieve the possibility of prophecy by divine inspiration; though, unless we were better acquainted with his views of Providence, we cannot decide how far the belief in ancient prophecy is inconsistent with his philosophy. We have nothing farther to object till we come to the paragraph concerning assertions which imply a breach of the uniformity of causation. We have before said that we have no evidence to prove an essential connexion between causes and effects; though within our experience, it has been invariable. In the present case, we should compare the two apparent deviations from the usual succession of events, and decide in favor of the least. In one of the instances presented by the writer, we should arrive at an opposite conclusion from that which he leaves us to suppose he embraces. On the testimony of one man, we should certainly not believe that ice retained its solidity when exposed to ardent heat. We should suppose that he had mistaken a piece of crystal for ice, that his thermometer had deceived him, that his understanding was disordered, or that he had some unknown motive for declaring a falsehood. But if five men of science, sagacity, caution, and integrity, declared themselves to have been eye-witnesses of the fact, after having excluded every possibility of deception, we should believe the testimony.

Our assent to the bare fact could not be withheld; and if some grand *final cause* for the apparent deviation could be at the same time perceived, our belief would be immeasurably quickened and confirmed. Believing moral causes to be as certain in their operation as physical agents, it would seem more probable that the breach of succession should take place in the single instance of the ice remaining solid, than in the five instances of wise, upright, and sound minds acting in direct opposition to the strongest motives. The discrepancy of the facts is as perplexing in the one case as in the other; and were there no more satisfactory mode of attaining conviction, we should abide by the rule of choosing the least of two difficulties.

But we believe that there is a more satisfactory mode of explanation open to us, a mode which is not inconsistent with our author's belief in the *necessary* connexion of cause and effect. When he cannot account for any mental or moral phenomena, he readily and justly supposes that causes are at work, with whose nature and mode of operation he is unacquainted. Why should not the same supposition be held reasonable with respect to physical events? Can any one say that he knows all the physical causes which may be put in operation? Can the most learned philosopher declare it to be impossible that the operation of familiar causes may be modified by the agency of others less familiar, or hitherto wholly unknown? When a multitude of new facts, a crowd of agents hitherto concealed, are continually displayed by the development of science, is it incredible that some of these agents, or others as little familiar, should have been occasionally employed by the Creator of them all to produce novel results, themselves destined to become the cause of moral phenomena as stupendous? By the law of gravitation (which term is in itself only an appeal to ignorance) bodies heavier than itself sink in water. Where is the impossibility that

some hidden agent might be employed, not to break or suspend the law, but to modify its results in one or two particular instances, so that an iron axe might float on the surface, or a man be enabled to walk the waves as if they were dry land? That such an agent is not perceptible to the senses is no argument against its existence. If its effects are perceptible, this is as much as can be affirmed of other agents whose existence is proved to demonstration. If it be objected that miracles are divested of their grandeur, and lose their character, if effected by physical agents, we reply, that this agency, whatever its nature, is extraordinary, is such as could not have been employed by human wisdom and power, and may prove, if ever comprehended by man in the present state of being, an additional evidence of the divine authority of the revelation it was appointed to confirm. If it be further objected that the foregoing supposition can at most only apply to one class of miracles, and leave unexplained the extraordinary influences on the minds of men, as in the instances of the gift of tongues, prophecy, &c., — it may be replied, that the mode in which impressions are received, the agency of matter on mind, and especially the influence of the Deity on the human soul, are subjects yet further removed from our knowledge than the processes of external nature; and that we are here least of all qualified to pronounce on the impossibility of the operation of concealed causes. The operations of the mental faculties might not necessarily be suspended or annihilated in cases of miraculous illumination; but, without violating the uniformity of causation, and probably by means of it, these faculties might present phenomena as stupendous as unprecedented. If it be again objected that this mode of argument deprives us of the only foundation on which we can build expectation of the future, since the unseen causes supposed may again modify the influence of known agents, — we reply, that the succession of causes and

effects is so uniform as to generate a conviction strong enough for all purposes. Some persons believe and others disbelieve that on one occasion the sun stood still (to use the popular language); but all agree in expecting the luminary to run his course to-morrow, and every day of their lives: and though the general belief is that its light will one day be quenched, all men act on the assumption that days, months, and years, will yet roll on as in former times. As unprecedented results have arisen from unknown causes, the same thing may happen again, and is expected to happen by all who believe that the present constitution of external nature will be dissolved; but as such results are extremely rare, while the familiar operation of ascertained causes is perpetual and uniform, we are obliged by the law of association to ground our expectations on our experience of the latter, and are justified by right reason in doing so. If it be yet objected that the unseen causes supposed might operate on the human mind so as to produce false testimony, it is replied, that such a supposition is not only inconsistent with all the conceptions we can form of the moral attributes of the Deity, but most improbable in itself. It may easily be admitted that a case of false individual testimony might occur which should be wholly unaccountable to us; but when a number of men (say five or ten) qualified to bear testimony, and acting under an ascertained system of motives, (as the apostles in the promulgation of Christianity,) agree in asserting facts which we should have previously supposed impossible, the probability is that unknown physical causes operated in one instance, rather than unknown moral causes in five or ten. This being allowed, the testimony of the same persons may be admitted in favor of any number of miracles. If the testimony of five persons can establish the credibility of one miracle, it is sufficient to establish the credibility of a hundred; their qualifications for bearing testimony remaining the same.

In the first place, then, we do not agree with our author that he has established his important rule, that no testimony can prove a breach of the uniformity of causation in physical events; and, in the second place, we believe that the exhibition of miracles does not necessarily imply such a breach. In no instance more strikingly than in the case before us, are men apt to be misled by terms adopted by themselves to aid their researches. The terms *breach*, *suspension*, and *violation* of a law, appear to us highly objectionable if invariably applied to the operations of the Disposer of events. These terms, having been used figuratively, and by way of accommodation, to express our imperfect conceptions of the mode of Divine agency, are afterwards used as the basis of arguments to which they afford no solid foundation. It is impossible to enlarge on this subject here; but we will just observe, that the belief of the Deity being restricted by laws arises from a very narrow and imperfect conception of him; and that though the term is perhaps the best we can employ to express our conviction of the immutability of his purposes, and the impartiality of his dispensations, it ought never to be made the occasion of limiting our faith in his infinite power. The invariable sequence of cause and effect is analogous to the steady operation of laws in the social system, and naturally suggests the use of the term; but our reasoning faculty exceeds its commission if the analogy be carried further, and the inference deduced that this sequence can never have been interrupted or obscured but by caprice or some other moral imperfection, and therefore that a miracle is impossible.

From our author's next position we also dissent. Testimony cannot prove the uniformity of causation, because it reaches only a limited number of events: but this limitation does not affect its evidence in any particular instance. If

human testimony established the uniformity of causation in a thousand instances, without any exception, this would be no proof, though a presumption, that the sequence of cause and effect was universal: but if it established this sequence in nine hundred and ninety-nine cases, and asserted its failure in one, we see no reason for rejecting its evidence. Testimony can never prove the rule universal; but, by establishing one exception, it can prove that it is not universal. Here the writer again assumes the connexion of cause and effect to be not only uniform, but necessary, inevitable, indispensable; which is clearly begging the question.

The last observation, that the being of a God is proved by physical evidence, is obvious and indisputable.

We cannot dwell so long on the next chapter as its contents deserve. It treats of Possibility, Probability, and their Opposites. The term Possibility is shown to imply a defect of knowledge on our parts, and to designate a state of the mind, and not an attribute of events. An impossible event is described as being one "which contradicts our experience, or which implies that the same causes have produced different effects," or *vice versâ*. It is clear that the assumption of the uniformity of causation is here made to rest on our experience, and not on a primary principle of the mind.

We should be inclined, when speaking philosophically, to restrict the use of the term *impossible* to that which is *self-contradictory*. Our author adopts a less limited signification, and declares *impossible*, and *involving a deviation from the uniform succession of causes and effects*, to be convertible terms. Whatever may become of this definition, it contains nothing incompatible with the belief that "what is impossible with man is possible with God."

The term Probability is well explained.

The doctrine of Philosophical Necessity we hold to have been previously fully proved. Our high appreciation of

the value of testimony is owing to our belief in the uniformity of causation in the moral world. On our author's mind, however, this belief appears to have a directly opposite effect, as we judge from the conclusion of his ninth chapter. Because the causes which actuate the mind are, as a whole, less known to us than those which operate on the physical world, he would rather disbelieve the testimony of a great number of persons, acting and speaking under an ascertained set of motives, struggling against obloquy, threats, and violence, enduring hardship, torture, and death, for their convictions, than be convinced of what he calls a physical impossibility. That is, he admits the belief of many miracles, to escape the acknowledgment of one.

In the establishment of one great point, the doctrine of Philosophical Necessity, (as it is commonly called,) our author appears to have succeeded; in the other, the determination of the legitimate bounds of testimony, (so as to exclude the miracles,) to have failed. On neither are we aware that he has brought forward any thing new: and our reason for commenting on the third Essay at such length is, that from its popular form, its interesting style, and the undeniable truth of a great part of its contents, it may have the power of working much mischief among infirm and unwary intellects. The reputation which the author deservedly gained by his former works affords a presumption that the present volume will obtain an extensive circulation; and while we believe that some of his observations and reasonings cannot be too widely diffused, we lament that truth and error should be so mixed up together, as that a greater degree of caution and discernment is required to separate them than can be expected from the generality of his readers. In his opinions concerning the communication of truth we fully coincide; and the integrity of his motives to publication we have certainly no inclination to question.

But if the subject has been, as he declares, "maturely considered," and if his sole aim in treating it as he has done is "the establishment of truth in a momentous and difficult sphere of inquiry," we can only lament that the patient labors of an enlightened intellect have produced such results, and that the benevolent wishes of an ingenuous mind are doomed to disappointment.

THE RELIGION OF SOCRATES.*

THERE have been frequent and elaborate comparisons of Socrates with the inspired men of Judea, — of him who, in moral purity and intellectual vigor and ripeness, was eminently and unaccountably superior to all other philosophical teachers, with the accredited messengers of Jehovah. The comparisons have been industriously carried through, point by point, as far as the abstract character of the men was concerned; but the results have ever appeared to us unsatisfactory, for want of a due consideration of the position of the several individuals. Socrates is pronounced to be, in comparison with the prophets and apostles, blind with respect to the Divine Nature, idolatrous in his worship, superstitious with respect to the dealings of Providence in general, and especially as they regarded himself; low in his conceptions of piety and holiness, and capable of none but the crudest conceptions of a future state. His immeasurable superiority over his Heathen brethren of every rank, being at the same time universally admitted, it becomes

* The Religion of Socrates. Dedicated to Sceptics and Sceptic-makers. 8vo. pp. 106. London. Fellows. 1831.

an object of deep interest to ascertain for what design, and by what means, he was thus placed in a position so far above the many, and so far below the few; and whether any considerations have been omitted by which we may rectify the estimates of him, which are too various to be correct.

The Jewish prophets were born on holy ground; they were bred up beneath the shadow of the tabernacle; and nurtured by Jehovah himself. Socrates dwelt in a land whose golden fields and gorgeous gardens were, with all their splendor, a wilderness, compared with the sandy plains and rugged fastnesses of Judea, because no visible glory shone on them from heaven. He sought the shade of temples, where no eye looked for a unity of essence amidst the diversity of the forms of beauty; and the ministrations by which his powers were matured were, even if understood by himself, unrecognised by any besides.

The Jewish prophets were sent, with the light of Deity shining in their faces, to deliver express messages from Jehovah to his people. When they preached, the thunder-cloud was beneath their feet, and the lightnings in their hands. They were empowered to proclaim, "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is One Lord;" and their office being thus express, they were not subject to the perplexities of a discretionary power, and had only to discharge their commission, and bear the consequences. Socrates had no credentials to exhibit; his appeals were enforced by no power on which he could visibly repose, and were addressed to a people who were united by no common bond of acknowledged truth. He was compelled to exercise a caution as difficult as it must have been irksome. He could only intimate great truths by means of such analogies as would interest and engage his Athenian auditors, leaving it to those whom it might concern to interpret rightly his countenance of popular superstitions: and, after all, his

marvellous prudence, being exercised on behalf of others rather than of himself, did not avail to preserve him from persecution and martyrdom. The Jewish teachers had to deal with a stiff-necked, he with a licentious people. They were appointed to carry forward openly an ancient scheme of Providence; his humbler task was to instil the primary elements of religious truth. All these things, — the birth, the position, the office of these several teachers, must be contemplated, before an accurate estimate of their characters, or judgment of their claims to inspiration, can be formed.

It will not be questioned by any who intelligently hold the doctrine of a Providence, that the qualities of every man are conferred by God, their direction superintended, and their end appointed and achieved by him. It is likewise evident that, as a miracle is an extraordinary event, not in itself, but only to human apprehension, so, in its own nature, inspiration is only a greater degree of power which is possessed by all. To man, it appears at first a power special in kind, as well as remarkable in degree; but to the Giver of light, who knows the unity of its essence, it cannot be so. Furthermore, when man investigates the history of his kind, and prepares from its results a scale of human powers, he finds it impossible to adjust it to his satisfaction, as long as he transfers the distinction between those powers from their modes of attainment and manifestation to their inherent nature. The actual distinction which exists is enough for the purpose for which it was ordained, — for the education of the human observers of the scheme of Providence; and to carry it further than philosophy sanctions, is only to impair our recognition of Providence. The man to whom, in a barbarous age, it is given to know that which he has not the means of ascertaining for himself, is an inspired man, and consequently a special messenger of God. The man who, in an advanced state of civilization and science, knows the same truth by the

means which society affords, is not an inspired man, nor is he set apart from his fellow men by a peculiar commission. In both cases, the knowledge and the power are the same: the difference lies in their origin and application to man, and not in their own nature, or in the sight of God.

There is this unity in the providence of God towards the human race, however different have been its manifestations towards the Jews and the Gentiles. The lapse of time has discovered this to us. It has discovered to us that it was for the sake of the whole race that the Jewish nation was led on, by a special process, to a lofty eminence of religious attainment. We see that while preparations were going on with extraordinary rapidity in the land of promise, there were stirrings, from time to time, in the mass of the unregenerate nations, whose causes and aims now appear analogous with each other, and with those by which the chosen people was wrought upon. Wise men rose up here and there in Heathen lands who discerned and taught something more than was generally known of the frame of the universe, or of the purposes of life, or of the nature and character of Him who gave it; and thus carried on the multitudes to successive degrees of fitness for the reception of the brighter and more abundant truth which was at length to be generally embraced. These men, whether they were Grecian moralists, or Persian astronomers, or Egyptian metaphysicians, were raised up by Providence as directly as the prophets of Israel. The mission of the latter was identical with the rest in its origin, and analogous in its end, though incalculably loftier in its manifest character, and more awful in its sanctions.

Socrates, the wisest of the Gentiles, was therefore, in as far as he taught truth, a fellow-servant with the Jewish teachers before God; their fellow-laborer in pioneering the way for the Gospel; their brother in the truth of God, though appointed an abode in the outer courts of his Father's house.

In the contemplation of his character and services, doubts have frequently arisen as to whether his was a special commission: as to whether his attainments were no more than correspondent with his natural means, — as to whether, in short, he was inspired. We know too little of what those natural means were to be able to decide; and to this may be added, that it is difficult to ascertain also what his attainments were. It will be long before men cease to speculate on the extent of his wisdom, the means by which he attained it, and the principles by which those parts of his conduct were guided, which were either uncommon in themselves, or rendered dubious by what we know of his doctrines.

For ourselves, we feel the impossibility of measuring the proportion of philosophical sagacity and religious wisdom which may be generated by any combination of happy natural influences; but we own a difficulty in conceiving that the ordinary powers of man, exercised in any ordinary mode, should have effected so marvellous an enlightenment as that of Socrates in the midst of Heathen darkness. What means Divine Wisdom made use of for the purpose will probably never be known on this side the grave; but we cannot imagine that any discovery which human reason may achieve, now that the process of discovery is emancipated from difficulties which can never recur, can ever equal the grandeur of his, who, in a polytheistic land, learned that God was one; from the chaos of superstitions respecting fate and chance, wrought out a perfect scheme of Providence; and amidst the brooding gloom of Heathenism, not only discerned the dawn of a full revelation, but gathered into himself, by anticipation, something of its light and warmth.

We assume it as unquestionable that Socrates did hold these doctrines, because, though there is contradictory evidence on each point, the evidence in favor of his enlightened convictions is positive, while that opposed to it is

negative. It is negative evidence that he spoke of "the gods," and in various modes acknowledged Deity as residing in a diversity of forms; since circumstances develope ample reason for his thus accommodating himself to popular conceptions. On the other hand, we have positive evidence in his teachings, as recorded by Xenophon, that he conceived of a Being who is Supreme, "extended through all places, extending through all time, and whose bounty and care can know no other bounds than those fixed by his own creation."

And this, if we might enlarge in proportion to our subject, we could show to be the issue of all opposition of evidence on the most important points of the philosophy of Socrates. But we must hasten on to what it remains to us to observe; namely, that the mission of Socrates is not yet fully accomplished.

It is impossible ever to assign any limit to the operation of influences which are set in motion by God. It can never be said of any of his dispensations that all its purposes are fulfilled, or that any of his modes of agency are for ever relinquished. It is thus with the missions of the Jewish prophets, and of the Heathen philosophers. Not only is the everlasting gospel of Christ still on its way, but all subsidiary dispensations are, though closed to some, yet open to others. There is a remnant of Israel yet to whom the prophets have not yet declared the whole counsel of God; and there are some who are not sufficiently advanced to listen even to them. There are some, even in this Christian land, who are as much less wise than Socrates as his Athenian pupils. We shall scarcely find a Plato; and if we did, we should hesitate in administering to him the elements of a philosophical or religious experience; but there may be a Xenophon upon whom circumstance has acted, instead of distance of time or place, to exclude him from the teachings of Jehovah's temple; and to him the

instructions of the Grecian sage may be as salutary as welcome. There may be an Aristodemus who will obtain from Socrates such evidence of the unity of the Creator as he would never have learned from a teacher of another nation: and many a Critias, and many an Alcibiades, may be shamed into decency, or won over to a temporary energy of self-denial, by the force of irony, or the attraction of benignity, of which time has been powerless to divest the instructions of the wisest and best of heathens. If he could appear to-day in our places of public resort, he ought to be welcome to resume his ancient office. It would be wise in our legislators to admit him into the senate, in our philosophers to invite him to their sittings, in our religious teachers to open a way for him into their temples; for assuredly he could, in each place, teach as much to some as he could learn from others; and the certain result would be, that he would lead his followers after him to an earnest advocacy of man's social rights, to a full recognition of all sound philosophical principles, and to an exulting reception of the gospel.

Under such a conviction as this, the work before us has been planned and elaborated. It is prepared for those who would throng around the Athenian philosopher if he were to appear, and who, in his absence, care for no other teacher. The religion of Socrates is proposed to the consideration of those whose modes of philosophizing, and chosen course of study, forbid their rejecting such an appeal. If they pride themselves on being classics, they are met by a classic. If they rank themselves among philosophers, they find themselves challenged by a philosopher. If they reject dissertations on the Christian evidences, as wearisome and stale, they find no mention of Christianity in the whole course of the argument; or if, as sometimes happens, they receive the dogmas of the ancient philosophy in connexion with the super-

stitions which still defile Christianity, they will here meet with no offensive reforming zeal which shall shock their prejudices. The Christian teacher, also, will find this work powerfully adapted to prepare the way for the gospel among a class whom his instructions are little likely to reach; and may himself derive some valuable hints from a work which opens so uncommon a method of appeal.

We announce its purpose in the author's language rather than our own.

"In the course of an inquiry into the meaning and origin of the mysticism of Plato, my attention was arrested by some peculiar traits in the character of Socrates. These appeared to me deserving of a close examination, not only for the sanction they derive from the integrity and wisdom of Socrates' character, but on account of a remarkable analogy which subsists between the state of knowledge in Socrates' times, and in our own. Each period may be considered a transition-state from a relaxing authority to a more fully established conviction.

The Politician, requiring obligations to prevent the dissolution of all the bonds of society; the Speculatist, desiring to know how far he may urge his theories without danger to practice; and the Religious, anxious to prevent belief sinking into scepticism, and devotion being chilled into irreligion, may find much that deserves his attention in the conduct and motives of Socrates. For the very end of Socrates' philosophy is to fix important objects, and to develope sufficient motives to excite men to pursue them.

"Socrates investigated human nature for principles, and examined human affairs for consequences; and ascended, by the soundest inferences of reason, and the purest dictates of conscience, to a still higher obligation. He desired something which might be made a Discipline for the young, a Rule for the guiding of middle life, and a Support to the aged. And surely his Philosophy is addressed to the feelings of the purest time of life; yet stands the test to which the experience

and knowledge of manhood can put it; and its recollections and anticipations are among the best comforts of age. It affords a system of obligation which rests on the most enlarged view of moral and physical causation. It does not indulge in the splendid error which would separate the present from the past; yet it proposes to make the present better than the past, and the future than the present time. And, lastly, it affords one of the most perfect comments which reason and conscience have ever supplied on the truth and importance of the moral lessons we have derived from the Christian Religion." — Pref. v – vii.

After a beautiful sketch of Socrates, as a Speculatist and a practical Moralist, the work consists of an exposition of the three great objects to which his agency was directed; viz. to rouse and elevate the minds of the people to such a reverence for the Deity as may become an influential motive to conduct: to make his expression of this reverence as consistent as truth would permit with the established belief and worship of his country: and the removal from his country's belief and worship of whatever principles appeared irreconcilable to reason, and prejudicial to happiness. Under these three heads are comprehended an inquiry into the rectitude of Socrates' principle of resting conduct on Divine Obligation; an inquiry into the nature, design, and result of his compliance with the religion of his country; and a consideration of the duty and the best methods of removing practical falsehoods from that religion, as generally professed.

We will not injure an argument so closely knit by separating its parts for the extraction of any; nor will we anticipate the effect of the whole on the reader by commenting on its separate portions, from some of which we should have to express our dissent, and expose what we deem their sophistry. We give only a few paragraphs which will bear disconnexion, and chiefly for the purpose of attracting our enlightened readers to a study of the work.

"Antiquity has adjudged to Socrates the palm for goodness and for wisdom; for the goodness which labors to promote the well-being, and for the wisdom which discerns what constitutes the well-being of man. In all that Socrates is recorded by his more scrupulous biographer to have said or done, there is so much good sense, and so much right feeling, that we are in danger of forgetting his power of intellect in dwelling on the soundness of his character. We are in danger of considering the philosopher, who may with truth be said to have developed *all* the leading truths of natural religion and morals, merely a plain good man, because he has preferred whatever is sound in practice to what is striking in theory.

"But the simplicity of Socrates' manner may with many prove as great an obstacle to his being ranked high as a philosopher, as is the soundness of his matter. If ever there existed a merely human being who could recognise the Divine voice in the plain instincts of conscience, and the simplest inferences of reason, it may be admitted that Socrates had that power. Therefore it is that his opinions and conduct exhibit a harmony so consentient between feelings not too acute, and a reason not too grave, yet each yielding its clear and perfect tone, that we are tempted to consider the instrument perfectly attuned by the Divine hand, and to think less of the master's skill. In other words, we are inclined to attribute the invariable soundness of Socrates' mind to the Divine allotment of an unerring moral sense, and to forget the largeness of his prudence in the supposed acuteness of his sagacity.

"It is thus, that some calm and majestic temple, raised by a master in Grecian art, when compared with the innumerable perplexities of Gothic barbarism, appears so indivisible in its unity, so inseparable in its completeness, that we are tempted to consider it the execution, or rather the conception, of some happy moment, and to deny that it could have been put together from an infinity of formless materials by the vexatious toilings of incessant care, directed by a profound knowledge of the principles of beauty. This is a great error

into which we are in danger of falling. Analogy might teach us that only rude and unorganized masses of matter have been allowed to attain their state of being suddenly. The crystal grows slowly in its silent but not uninstructive cave, and the exquisite brilliancy of the diamond is not that instantaneous hardening poets love to dream of. And, whatever soundness there be in these analogies, it is matter of known fact, that the temper of Socrates was of mortal mould, and only the industry bestowed on its correction was indeed divine. By the same constant care, the intellectual and moral simplicity observable in Socrates was built up.

"However we estimate Socrates as a speculatist, there can be but one opinion about his practical character, about his sagacity in detecting in what happiness consists, and about his success in promoting it. Plato had more enthusiasm of imagination; and when the test of his master's sounder sense was withdrawn, ran into speculations well adapted to exercise a powerful influence over sensitive and imaginative minds. Aristotle was more nice in his distinctions, and more scientific in his arrangements; and, when his master's practical objects had ceased to direct men's attention wholly to conduct, was well fitted to be listened to with admiration by those who view morals as a science. But for a sound judgment in questions of honesty and usefulness, we would prefer Socrates' strong sense and right feeling, and practical mode of viewing every subject, to the peculiar powers which belonged to either of his great pupils."—pp. 9–13.

It has required some self-denial to refrain from an indefinite enlargement on the matter of this essay, for which we shall possibly repay ourselves on the appearance of those which our author has announced on the Mysticism of Plato, and on the Utilitarianism of Aristotle.

PHYSICAL CONSIDERATIONS CONNECTED WITH MAN'S ULTIMATE DESTINATION.*

THERE are three ways of regarding the condition of the human being after death, each of which has its advocates, since the subject presents but a choice of difficulties. Men will not cease to speculate on a subject in which each has an individual interest, though a very scanty portion of evidence can, from the nature of the case, be obtained at present, and science, both physical and metaphysical, must have advanced to a degree which we can scarcely anticipate before any thing like certainty can be established as to the essence of human identity, the mode in which that identity is preserved, and the circumstances by which it shall be surrounded after death. There are a multitude of accessories to the interest which attends this very obscure inquiry. A being, whose individual fate was in no way involved in the question, — one who could contemplate humanity without being subject to its ordinary conditions — the Wandering Jew, for instance, or St. Leon — could not but feel a stirring curiosity about the destination of such a creature as man, after it was known that death is not the end of being. He would look on him one day, every fibre thrilling with life; and every limb, powerful in its muscular strength, made tenfold more powerful by the direction given to that strength by some internal existence made known only through its control over the outward man. He would look on him again and see the external frame, fearfully wonderful in the delicacy of its organization, but cold, insensible, tending to decay; and as for the power within — what and where

* An Essay on such Physical Considerations as are connected with Man's Ultimate Destination; the Essential Constitution of Superior Beings; and the Presumptive Unity of Nature. By Andrew Carmichael, M. R. I. A. Dublin. 1830.

is it? Is it asleep? Is it departed? Is it there, conscious and watchful, though in no way manifested to the observer? How intense, how irritating would be the curiosity such a wanderer of the earth would feel as he tracked the steps of death age after age through many climes, keeping him ever in sight, watching the direction of his dart, but ever blinded by an envious cloud at the precise moment of observation! This would be one of the greatest evils of a deathless sojourn among dying men; to hear all other mourners comforting one another with the certainty of a speedy departure; to see every other speculator relaxing his brow of thought at the suggestion that this mystery could not be long hidden; to close the eyes of the last of a band of intellectual brethren, and say, "I alone am left to wonder and doubt for ever." — A being whose individual interest is involved in the question, who knows that his ignorance is only temporary, feels a curiosity not the less lively for its being hopeful. His observation becomes more keen as he sees one after another taken from the multitude of gazers without, and vanishing beneath the cloud which he shall also enter ere long. Age after age has this cloud hung low on the gate of life, and if men have not learned what there is on the other side, they have at least determined in some degree what is *not* there.

The condition of the human being after death depends, of course, on the essence of his being; and as long as we can only guess at the essence, we can only speculate on the state. Since it is supposed that there is only one alternative respecting the essence of man, it has usually, but erroneously, been concluded that there is also but one alternative respecting the time and mode of entrance upon a future life. The essence of man, it is said, is either matter or spirit. Granted; since by spirit nothing more is meant than that which is not matter. — If spirit, the essential portion of the human being must be immortal, must be separated from the destructible

portions at death, and enter immediately on its future state. Granted. If matter, the human brain remains unconscious, in fact temporarily annihilated, till the life-giving decree shall go forth again to inspire the whole race with an immortal life. Not granted. It may be so, but not necessarily; there is yet a third supposition. But we will consider each in its turn, deducing our reasonings from facts rather than from philosophical speculations on matter and spirit; since, till we know the meaning of the terms in which they are conducted, such speculations will afford but an unstable basis for argument. All agree that the nature of spirit is wholly unascertainable; but few bear in mind that matter is also a mere abstract term, under which are congregated many things which we in some measure understand, and many more which we do not. We will say nothing, therefore, about whether spirit is capable of a union with matter, whether matter may or may not be endowed with life and thought, &c., and will pass on to the facts (few though they be, and obscure in their interpretation) with which we are furnished by observation and testimony.

The first facts to which it is natural to have recourse are those which are exhibited by the various forms of death. All instances of sudden death are not apparently inconsistent with the notion of a separable soul, and by their peculiar suggestions have no doubt cherished the idea, if not helped to originate it. What more natural (the conception of an indestructible being residing in a destructible frame having been once admitted) than to look on a body suddenly become motionless as a body *vacated*, and to exclaim, "See the shell of a flown bird!" What more natural than to suppose, when the "strong swimmer" sinks instantaneously after his last convulsive effort, that his spirit parted in the agony and clave the waters and the invisible air upwards more swiftly than its perishing companion sunk to the caves of the deep?

What more natural than to regard the last vivid glance of the expiring martyr as a silent though eloquent token that the soul had spread its wings for flight, and was bidding adieu to suffering and humanity at once?

In cases of gradual decline, it is less easy to the imagination to picture to itself the state of the spiritual essence during the gradual approach of dissolution. We know that the decay of the mind, the relaxation and final suspension of muscular power, the failure of all the organs in succession, are caused by affections of the brain and the nerves connected with it. Is it the life which fails and decays, or does the immaterial portion of the frame remain in its integrity while all its outward manifestations are obscured? Can it be that while torpor is stealing over the limbs, and dulness impairing the ear and the eye, the spiritual principle is awake and observant, — that there is a bright sensibility within, while all is verging upon death without? We know that it is not so. We have all had experience of sleep, of faintings, of debility; and we know that if there be a spiritual principle unsusceptible of injury, it is not detected by our experience, our state in sleep and illness being the same as if mind and body were one. If the immaterial portion of the frame be susceptible of disease in exact proportion with the material part, where is its advantage over matter; what evidence is there for it; or rather, what evidence is there not against it?

The facts connected with disease and modes of death certainly afford no evidence of an immaterial principle in man; and the same may be said of those presented by the various instances on record of translation and resurrection. There is no hint in the case of Elijah of his body being any where deposited when the spirit left it, and resumed when he appeared to the disciples on the mount of transfiguration; and if his presence had been wholly spiritual on that mount, it

could not have been an *appearance* to the bodily eyes of the gazers, for pure spirit cannot be visible. In the three cases of restoration to life at the command of Jesus there is no suggestion of any departed spirit being recalled to inhabit the body; and in the instance of the resurrection of Christ himself, messengers, whose radiance was apparent to the eye, whose voices were audible to the ear, were sent to roll away the stone, and release the captive of death. Now, as they were recognised by human senses, these messengers could not have been purely spiritual, according to philosophical definitions of spirit: and as these messengers were sent to open the mouth of the cave, it is a fair presumption that matter is acted upon only by matter, except in the case of the One Being whom alone we must necessarily suppose to be spiritual. If the spirit of Jesus had returned to inhabit the inclosed body, what need would there have been of messengers to assist, if those messengers are supposed spiritual? And it is monstrous to imagine them material, and man spiritual. The easiest interpretation of the whole case is surely to suppose that all were material agents (however etherealized) of the One Spirit through whom all was done.

The other supposition which has divided opinion is, that man being wholly material, falls into a state of unconsciousness at death, which continues, and must continue, till at some awful future period, there shall be a revivification of every human body. That the first part of this supposition is correct there can be little doubt. The resemblance of death to a deep sleep has suggested the idea almost universally; and it is confirmed by the silence of all who have ever been restored to life as to their experience of death. It may, indeed, be conjectured that all impressions received in an ulterior state must necessarily be obliterated when the body is reinstated in its mortal conditions; but this is

a mere hypothesis, and scarcely a tenable one. The greater probability undoubtedly is, that all was a blank from the moment of ceasing to breathe to the moment of breathing again. But the supposition that this unconsciousness remains till a far distant period, when all who have lived will be reanimated at once, is attended with insuperable difficulties, and with no substantial evidence whatever.

Who that looks round him or calculates for a moment can suppose that human bodies can be raised entire? We all speculate somewhat in Hamlet's mode when we watch the revolutions of churchyards. We see how the earthy barriers between the graves are broken through, how dust is mingled with dust till all becomes an undistinguishable mass; how in course of time, the foundations of dwellings for the living are laid among the ruined abodes of the dead; how, when these dwellings have also crumbled away, the plough turns up the clods, and food is raised from the elements of a former organization to nourish frames which must afford the same service in their turn. Other changes succeed. When generations have reaped their living harvests from the harvest-field of death, green pastures are spread, or still waters expand, or the sea comes sweeping over all, and a new species of vegetation begins in the hollows, and a new influx of life pervades the scene of so many vicissitudes. Thus is it in every region. The caravan of the desert leaves no trace of its perished thousands when the moist wind and the dry, the jackal and the carrion bird, have done their work. The sunken vessel, with all that it contained of human or inanimate, is dissolved into its elements before the neighbouring coral reef has been built up to the surface. And what is to be said of cannibalism, where one human frame is immediately incorporated with another? The resurrection of each entire human body is manifestly impossible.

But it is maintained, though the body may not be raised entire, some portion of it may be indestructible: some undistinguishable atom may be preserved in a state of organization from which life may be at length evolved, and in which a consciousness of identity may be renewed.

On the fate of undistinguishable atoms we certainly cannot speak positively; but it is reasonable to require some evidence of the existence of the kind supposed. We know of no such evidence, and perceive no need of such a supposition. The Mahometans and Jews held the same doctrine; but as their notions were grosser than ours, their choice of the indestructible part was more open to refutation. They each fixed on a certain bone which was to be incapable of decay, and prepared to sprout up into a complete human form in the fulness of time. These bones, however, were found to crumble into dust like other bones, and the conjecture was overthrown, as would probably be that of these other speculators if their "atoms" were not "undistinguishable," and therefore beyond the reach of argument and testimony.

Thus much, however, may be said, — that if only a particle remains to be revived, its renewal of life or development, or whatever else it may be called, is something wholly different from that resurrection of the body which is contended for on Scripture grounds. It cannot be supposed to be the doctrine which Paul had in mind when he wrote on the subject to the Corinthians and the Thessalonians; it removes to the furthest limit the analogy between the resurrections of the gospel history and our own. It is not only a mere hypothesis, but it is as much discountenanced by Scripture as the doctrine of a separate soul.

There is yet a third supposition, which, though not free from difficulties, avoids the most perplexing which beset

the other two, and as it was primarily suggested by Scripture, is by far the most easily reconcileable with the most important class of facts to which we can appeal. On this supposition, man is and ever shall be material, his frame being made susceptible of change according to his change of state: as expressed by Paul, "there is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body:" or as we may explain it, there is a gross body, and there is an etherealized body. The unconsciousness of death may thus last only while the ethereal body is evolved from the gross inanimate one, and we have at once an explanation of most of the Scripture expressions which have been given over as inexplicable by one or other party or both, and thus the facts also of Scripture present comparatively little difficulty.

A while ago, this doctrine would have been objected to on the ground of physical impossibility; but the extraordinary advancement of chemical science within a short period has made men cautious of pronouncing on physical impossibilities. The evolutions which have been detected of invisible substances from bodies which thenceforth tend to dissolution, the transmutations of various substances into one another and into others wholly different, the apparent transformations when known elements are combined in new modes, present results which would formerly have been far less credible to the ignorant, than the doctrine in question need be to us who are confessedly as much in the dark about some elements of the human frame as the peasantry of a century ago respecting various subtile substances with which science has rendered us familiar. By the doctrine in question, the phenomena of disease and death are made easy of explanation on the grounds which the materialist has ever firmly occupied; while the objections to the state ensuing, on which the immaterialist has seldom been satisfactorily answered do not apply. The body is, as he supposes, destined to decay

without any design of revival; it need not, as he says, perplex us to see it pass through a succession of forms, the same particles, perhaps, constituting in turn the limbs, the heart, the brain, of many living creatures; it need not, prospectively, give us concern to imagine that what was once Alexander may bung a beer barrel, or that "Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay, might stop a hole to keep the wind away." It remains to compare the supposition with Scripture facts, and afterwards with Scripture reasonings.

There is evidently nothing to contradict it in the cases of the daughter of Jairus and of the young man of Nain, and of those who were raised by the apostles from death which had just taken place: and though it may appear vain to speak of what seems most *natural* in miraculous cases, it will be acknowledged to be more easily conceivable that the process of bodily change should be delayed or reversed in such instances, than that the spirit should be recalled from a new state of which it retained not the slightest impression. We are not destitute of something like evidence that this change does not begin at once, or is at first slow, or easily reversible. Persons appareatly drowned have been revived when every indication of life had some time ceased; and inferior animals, if not men, have been restored by galvanism when they had been confidently pronounced dead; in the case of small animals, we know, to the astonishment if not the horror of the operator. It will be said they were not dead. Certainly, according to our common notion of death, because they lived again without miraculous intervention. But what is it then to be dead? Where can the line be drawn short of the obvious commencement of decay? Would these bodies, if not acted upon, have given any further sign of change previous to decay? Was any token of death absent, any intimation of lingering life discernible? Surely not. The restoration of the youth and maiden of the gospel history was effected

by a word spoken, and was therefore unquestionably miraculous; all that we mean to intimate is, that the internal change was probably less than in the other cases to which we are about to turn; probably only such as we might understand if our knowledge of chemical processes were what it promises to become. The case of Lazarus is a more difficult one. Whether there was obvious decay, as his sister apprehended; whether in so peculiar a case the process of change was retarded: or whether the time required for this process varies with the varieties of bodily constitution, we know not. Any of these suppositions are probable. The first two are perfectly consistent with the miraculous character of the entire event, and the last has in its favor very strong presumption from analogy. Any one is more probable than that the separate soul of Lazarus was taken from among the blessed, steeped in some nameless Lethe, and restored to its prison "newly swept and garnished" for its reception.

As the time required for obvious change in the dead body varies extensively with the circumstances of natural constitution, climate, the nature of the mortal disease or accident, &c., it seems very probable that the change of death is in proportion rapid or slow in its completion. In Jesus, it appears to have been completed in forty hours; in Lazarus, to have been unfinished in four days, if he was indeed unconscious during the whole time that he was in the sepulchre, which, as we have before said, we do not doubt. This difference between the two cases makes no difficulty as long as other obvious differences in the state of the inanimate body exist likewise. A more important part of the inquiry is as to their comparative state when they came forth from their dark and cold abodes. Lazarus was as before, a mortal. He lived, as formerly, among mortals, destined to die like them; and he died, as tradition relates,

thirty years after his first restoration. With Jesus all was different. He came and went, he appeared and withdrew, but dwelt no more in the abodes of men, and was manifestly no longer subject, though he benevolently condescended, to the conditions of mortality. In order to prove to doubters and to those who were to testify of his resurrection that it was indeed himself in bodily presence, he allowed his followers to convince themselves by tangible evidence, and he ate before them; but it does not follow that his frame was unchanged. The manner in which the story is related of his appearance after the doors were closed, seems to intimate that his approach was not in the usual manner; and the same may be said of his mode of quitting the disciples at Emmaus, when he had broken bread with them. The accounts of his various appearances, added to that of his ascension, suggest the belief that he rose from the short sleep of death invested with a "spiritual body," perceived by his followers to be more pure and glorious than that which sustained this change, and known to be immortal.

Thus far, the case of all who die is probably the same as his. What there was peculiar in the case of Jesus was in consequence of the peculiarity of his office. It was the necessary conclusion of his mission that he should *prove* the resurrection by submitting himself to the gross senses of his followers; and therefore no mortal remains, as in other cases, were left behind, but he underwent that *change* of the gross into the etherealized body which Paul anticipated for those who, as he believed, would remain alive at the coming of Christ. It seems that this peculiarity was shared by Elijah, and perhaps by Moses; and it presents no difficulty whatever in the way of our determination how far the analogy holds between the mode of Christ's resurrection and that of other men. The analogy holds as far

as their circumstances are alike, and no further. We are mortal, and designed for immortality; therefore we shall die and rise like him. Our mortal frame is of the same general structure as his; therefore it will undergo the same general process. We are *not* appointed to prove any ulterior fact through the proof of our identity after death; and therefore our gross remains will be left to decay, and we shall *not* come to survivors in a visible and tangible form.

We must resist our inclination to go into the consideration of the many Scripture facts related to those we have mentioned, and of the speculations on a local heaven, &c., &c., and pass on to the reasonings of the New Testament respecting the doctrine of a resurrection and future life, adverting to them only for the sake of illustrating the supposition now before us. The two principal parts are 1 Thess. iv. 13, to the end, v. 1 – 12, and 1 Cor. xv. In considering these passages, it is clear, first, that Paul expected an event which did not come to pass; namely, that before his generation passed away, the end of the mortal state of humanity should arrive; that the departed should come with Christ; that his living disciples should be taken without dying, into a state of incorruptibility; and that the whole race should then have entered upon the future life promised by Christ. It is easy to account for this erroneous expectation of the Apostle by reviewing the prophecies of Christ respecting his kingdom, and its close on the overthrow of the Jewish state — the end of the age, as it was emphatically called — and by remembering how different a thing it is to interpret a prophecy, however distinct before its accomplishment, and to recognise its fulfilment after the event. Nothing is easier than to separate what relates to this false expectation from the philosophical reasonings on death and resurrection, which are in no way

invalidated by it. It is clear, in the second place, that the whole chain of reasoning is worthless and unintelligible on the hypothesis of a separate soul; and that it gives no intimation whatever, as a whole, or in any separate part, of a simultaneous resurrection of mankind; while it is perfectly consistent with the last of our three suppositions.

Nothing is more natural than that Paul should describe the dead as those who *sleep*, because there is certainly no stronger analogy to the apprehensions of the living than that between death and sleep; an analogy which remains apparent to the survivors long after it has, according to our doctrine, ceased to the departed. It should be remembered how perpetually Paul at the same time represents the state of the departed as a state of consciousness, of activity, and enjoyment. It is, indeed, possible to interpret these representations as having a prospective meaning; but while such an interpretation is unnecessary, and while it destroys in a great measure the analogy between the case of Christ and that of men in general, we shall scarcely be inclined to adopt it. As for the rest, it can be necessary for our readers only to institute a comparison between our doctrine and the reasoning of Paul on death and revival, to admit their perfect consistency. We were about to go over the several points of his argument, the question whether Christ arose, the application of his case to all others, the contrast of the states under Adam and Christ, the reply to objectors on physical grounds, the triumphant anticipation of the final issue to humanity — but this our readers can do for themselves, almost at a glance, and be thereby more disposed than they could be by any suggestions of ours to wonder how the belief of a separate soul could ever have been held in conjunction with concurrence in the Apostle's argument; or how grounds of belief in a simultaneous resurrection of mankind could ever have been found in this portion of the sacred writings.

Having thus briefly explained what view of a very obscure subject appears to us most consistent with all the facts within our reach, (which view, however, we are quite ready to modify or relinquish as soon as fuller evidence shall show us cause for doing so,) our judgment of Mr. Carmichael's book will be easily anticipated by those of our readers who are already acquainted with it, — of as much of it, at least, as relates to the subject we have been considering.

Mr. C., being a member of the Royal Irish Academy, took his turn to prepare a paper, as the custom is, to be read before the Society. The two first sections of the little work before us were prepared for this purpose so long ago as 1817. The remainder was written long afterwards, when the author had found reason to change his philosophical system very extensively, and to retract much which he had formerly advanced. From this singular method of putting a book together, it necessarily arises that there is much inconsistency in the volume, and a vacillation of opinion not a little perplexing to an unpractised inquirer, while no form could perhaps have been better chosen for showing the true nature of the argument, and for pointing out the direction in which evidence preponderates; or for enabling the reader to judge, on the author's own involuntary showing, of the progress of the mind of an inquirer, not only from truth to truth, but from strength to strength in the apprehension of truth. Towards the beginning of his book, Mr. C. says,

"The necessary attributes of Spirit, as distinguished from matter, are the powers of sensation, perception, judgment, and will. Man is endowed with these powers; if they cannot reside in the material substance of which he is composed, they must inhere in an essence similar, however inferior, to the essence of God. There must, therefore, be such an es-

sence, however inferior, in man. That essence is the soul," &c. — p. 3.

Again,

"The philosopher who shall establish even probable grounds for the common opinion of the soul's immortality will be, of all men, the most deserving of the gratitude of his species." — p. 20.

Which opinion, however, he, after an interval of years, believes he "may unhesitatingly retract," having become a materialist, and an advocate for Lawrence on Physiology, and having learned by practice not to set out in an argument with begging the question. The result of the whole of this part of the work is, that the writer overthrows the ancient superstition (as we esteem it) of a separate soul; and not dreaming apparently of any other alternative, adopts with all its difficulties the doctrine of a simultaneous resurrection of the whole human race, excepting of course Christ, Elijah, and probably Moses, and possibly Enoch. As his object is to dwell on the Physical Considerations connected with his various topics, he plunges with his readers into the tossing sea of the ancient metaphysics, where, however some may have found their

"joy
Of youthful sports was on its breast to be
Borne, like its bubbles, onward,"

they have no right to draw others after them without a prospect of bringing them, safe and pleased, to shore; which prospect is not ours at present; so that we shall content ourselves with sympathizing with our author in his evident enjoyment of these invigorating exercises, and with congratulating him on his general acuteness; though his zeal leads him occasionally into temptations to injure the arguments of others by exaggeration, and his own by deficiency

of method in his arrangement. We cannot approve, for instance, of the following method of stating the alternative between the flight of the soul at death, and the resurrection of the body on the day of judgment.

"The question is, an immortal soul? or a resurrection from death? Let us inquire what would be our choice if that gracious Maker should say to us, 'Choose ye! an eternal state of being is assured to you. Will ye enter it at the moment when terminates your mortal career? And breaking away from a social world to which ye are linked by a thousand affectionate ties, will ye adventure, desolate and alone, into the infinitude of the universe, to seek ye know not where, for the Elysium of your hopes, the dwelling-place of those who were dear to you upon earth? Or will ye rest awhile from your labors? Repose in the grave with those whom you loved — mingle your dust with theirs — dissolve away together into apparent nothingness; yet at the appointed time hear my *promised* summons, and start TOGETHER into renovated existence?' If such were the proposition, few would find a difficulty in making their election. What our gracious Creator, in his benignity, seems to have decided for us, is the distribution we should have anxiously chosen for ourselves." — p. 67.

Not, perhaps, if the alternative had been fairly put; for the soul would *not* "adventure, desolate and alone," would *not* be ignorant where to seek, &c., if its separation from the body had been ordained by God. What would Mr. Carmichael think of the following statement of his adversary's argument?

"'Choose ye! — an eternal state of being is promised to you. Will ye make that promise a mockery by falling into a state of virtual annihilation, from which ye shall not be restored for ages of ages; will ye choose corruption in its most loathsome form, and forego all which distinguished you from the clod of the valley, all which made God your God,

and his angels your brethren ; or, if there be within you an indestructible germ of being, will ye commit that atom to the winds of heaven, or confound it with the sands of the desert, or plunge it in the deepest caverns of the ocean ? — or will ye rather preserve without intermission the dignity of your conscious being, passing with incommunicable rapture from the chamber of mourning, and the bed of disease, to a region of life and love and glory, where blessed spirits are thronging around to greet you, and where, amidst all its newness and splendor, you shall at once recognise your home ? ' — If such were the proposition, few would find a difficulty in making their election," &c.

Is the one statement more fair than the other? The faults of arrangement by which the author's own argument suffers are inherent in the plan of the work, and are perplexing to his readers, who need every aid which method can give towards understanding the drift of the writer amidst his changes of opinion. One thing, however, is clear ; that he vanquishes the immaterialist as far as he attempts it; and that, if his own scheme is surrounded with difficulties nearly as great, he is ready to perceive and admit them.

In the section relating to the nature of superior beings, our author does not go over much of the ground turned up by the Angelic Doctor, though it may seem difficult on such a subject to avoid his traces. Here we have rather a speculation on what our own state and employments shall be hereafter, than an inquiry into the actual constitution of angels. This is very well ; for in the first case we have a starting point of fact ; in the last we have none. Till we have some better evidence of the existence of superior beings than our own presumptions, however strong, we cannot hope to learn much of their nature, and shall only lose time in doubting " whether objects involved in utter darkness are not visible to those beings; and whether their conversation is not audible to each other, even in a void." Does not our author perceive

that in the license of conjecture he has in this instance allowed himself, the doubt itself rests on the assumption that angels have eyes, lungs, and ears?

On the eternally interesting topic of Providence, general or particular, our author writes in a way to perpetuate the interest and beauty of the theme; but is he sure that we must wait till we join the brotherhood of superior beings before we can solve its difficulties? Do they not arise from the assumption that Time is a condition of being to which Deity itself is subject? Our own intellectual progression here undoubtedly causes a gradual change in our relation to Time, and thereby enables us to obtain some notion of the mode in which we shall, when further improved, perceive a general and particular Providence to be the same thing. The difficulties of this subject appear to us to be so evidently soluble, that in a few generations they will probably be heard of no more. We speak not here of the designs of Providence, but merely of the perplexities attending the doctrinal division of Providence into general and particular.

Our author well exposes the absurdities which have arisen from the changes of meaning which the word *spirit* has undergone, from the ancient times when it signified etherealized matter, as well as that which is not matter at all, to the present day, when the term is commonly used in close argument with more precision. He supposes that all beings — except the Supreme — who have been called spiritual are organized, and that it is therefore rational to speculate on the conditions of their existence; which he does with some acuteness, and a great deal of eloquence. We have been doubting which of two passages to extract; a speculation on the powers of superior beings, or a defence of the inquiry, on the ground that no truth can be dangerous. We conclude to give both.

"Is it inconsistent with reason to suppose that Omnipotence could bring into existence an ORGANIZED being, endowed with more numerous and excellent faculties than man, and framed of more pure and imperishable materials — that such a being, though privileged from the inspection of senses like ours, is open to the observation of such beings as himself — that his enjoyments must be great in proportion to his capacity for happiness; and his desire of knowledge commensurate with his powers to attain it — that the wonders of nature cannot be disregarded by *him*, if scrutinized with enthusiasm by subordinate creatures like us. — If *we* follow after truth till our limited faculties fail us, will *he* not maintain the pursuit to the verge of creation? — If such be *his* passion, will God deny him the power to indulge it? — To believe that in the wide extent of this universe no creature exists with such passions and such powers, is almost to believe that this universe was created in vain — a menagerie indeed for rational creatures to fatten and breed in; but not the magnificent temple of God, worthy to be viewed from every aspect, examined in every detail, and studied in its beautiful and stupendous proportions. — Is it not rational then to presume that such creatures exist, animated with such propensities, and endowed with such powerful means to accomplish their purposes? The speed of a comet may indeed fall short of their necessities; but they may be gifted with the velocity of light. But will that velocity suffice them? — It will scarcely transport them from one fixed star to another, though the distance be no greater than from Sirius to the Sun, in a shorter period than six of our years — nor would it convey them to the most distant star of our own Galaxy in less than 3000. — But in travelling with the incessant speed of light to the most distant nebula, whose radiance has entered the telescope of Herschel, upwards of 30,000 years would scarcely determine their journey. — Even those superior beings could scarcely afford out of eternity, to a single purpose, so vast an expenditure of time. — Their swiftness must therefore be incomparably greater than the swiftness of light, — the greatest

which has yet been submitted to human calculation. But still, however difficult it may be to conceive an impulse so great, to deny its existence were absurd and presumptuous, while it indicates no contradiction of nature or reason. In the manifold varieties of rational creatures which people the habitable spots of the universe, is it inconsistent with reason to presume that organized beings, so potent, so intelligent, so ardent after truth, so fitted to attain it, so capable of appreciating every species of happiness, so gifted with powers to ensure its acquisition, and so formed of imperishable materials to enjoy it for ever — is it inconsistent with reason to presume the existence of such beings; and if an essence, like spirit, such as it has been fabricated by metaphysical ingenuity, can scarcely be supposed to exist, is it not certain that creatures like these must fill a place in the gradations of nature? — They are not spirits, because they are organized; but in all other points they are similar to that species of being, as conceived by most rational men, till the time of Descartes. Even the early Christians very generally entertained opinions almost identical, and regarded God as the only Mind which acts and thinks without material organs. If they had advanced a step farther, and believed HIM to be the only SPIRIT that exists, they would have derogated nothing from his unparticipated nature in asserting that the noblest rank of beings whom he vouchsafed to create essentially differed from him in being simply and specifically organized creatures. — pp. 53 – 56.

Against the calculation of speed given above, we must make the objection before adverted to, that *time* is probably a very different thing to beings of a more enlarged comprehension than ours, and to ourselves. So many other conditions of existence being supposed to be changed, why should this one be imagined stationary, from the ephemeron to the Supreme himself? To our apprehension, no condition of being seems more liable to variation with varieties of state than this. But to our other extract.

"But what is this cant of dangerous truths? — Rude, slanderous, and lacerating truths, affecting the self-esteem of individuals and the peace of families, are unfortunately too common; but, dangerous truths, destructive to the well-being of society or the happiness of mankind, are a contradiction in terms — an impossible chimera. Truths may be mischievous and reprehensible in the schools of good-breeding and humanity: but in those of politics it were slavery — in those of physics it were barbarism — in those of morals it were profligacy — and in those of religion it were blasphemy to assert that there is or can be an existing absurdity so enormous as a dangerous truth. Dangerous falsehoods indeed there may be — but freedom of discussion is the true mode of detecting the fallacy, and obviating the danger. The magnificent works of the Creator, whether inanimate, brute, or rational — the laws by which he governs them, whether physical, moral, or divine, demand and invite our researches; and is it within the range of possibility that in these sacred precincts we can light on a truth degrading to him, or pernicious to ourselves? Such truths are emphatically the truths of God; and whoever has the good fortune to discover, and the guilt to suppress them, is at once ignorant of his duties to God and to man. Despicable as a coward, and odious as a hypocrite, he may lick the feet of authority and prejudice; but he knows not the way to contribute to the happiness of man by increasing his knowledge, or to acquire the favor of God by studying his works, and unfolding his wisdom." — P. 62.

These are the best possible convictions on which to proceed in inquiries of every kind. Our reader will have discovered that our author is eloquent, and will not therefore wonder at our giving the summing up of his various arguments in his own words (with all their typographical emphasis) rather than our own.

"I conceive that, in the progress of this work, I have demonstrated, in opposition to prevailing notions, this incontrovertible TRUTH, that all real and absolutely existing beings must exist in space, and bear relations to space and time;

which has yet been submitted to human calculation. But still, however difficult it may be to conceive an impulse so great, to deny its existence were absurd and presumptuous, while it indicates no contradiction of nature or reason. In the manifold varieties of rational creatures which people the habitable spots of the universe, is it inconsistent with reason to presume that organized beings, so potent, so intelligent, so ardent after truth, so fitted to attain it, so capable of appreciating every species of happiness, so gifted with powers to ensure its acquisition, and so formed of imperishable materials to enjoy it for ever — is it inconsistent with reason to presume the existence of such beings; and if an essence, like spirit, such as it has been fabricated by metaphysical ingenuity, can scarcely be supposed to exist, is it not certain that creatures like these must fill a place in the gradations of nature? — They are not spirits, because they are organized; but in all other points they are similar to that species of being, as conceived by most rational men, till the time of Descartes. Even the early Christians very generally entertained opinions almost identical, and regarded God as the only Mind which acts and thinks without material organs. If they had advanced a step farther, and believed HIM to be the only SPIRIT that exists, they would have derogated nothing from his unparticipated nature in asserting that the noblest rank of beings whom he vouchsafed to create essentially differed from him in being simply and specifically organized creatures. — pp. 53 – 56.

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and that I have established, as the MOST RATIONAL BELIEF we can entertain on the subject, that God is the only SPIRIT in existence; and that angel and archangel, cherub and seraph, whatever the immortal essence of which they are compounded, are, like man, and all other living creatures with which we are acquainted, merely organized beings. That our hopes of a future state cannot rest with any certainty upon the existence of a soul, as maintained by the ancient philosophers, but upon our resurrection from death, as announced by Christ, and taught by the evangelists and apostles throughout the whole of the Christian revelation. And, lastly, though the kingdom of heaven, when restricted to the triumphant reign of moral and religious feelings upon earth, may properly be called a spiritual kingdom, yet that the promised heaven of hereafter is not an immaterial world of immaterial spirits, but a local and substantial portion of the universe, peopled by visible, tangible, active, and sociable beings, the more pure, intelligent, permanent, resplendent, and powerful, in proportion as their organization and essence are refined, exalted, and imperishable; and that, with the exception of God himself, who is A SPIRIT, and whose incommunicable essence no creature can participate, all living beings, in their gradations from the highest class to the lowest, bear a semblance or relation, either intimate or remote, to each other; that as planet resembles planet, and sun resembles sun, so universe resembles universe throughout the creation; and whether those universes roll round a void, or round some mighty orb in the centre of all, which may constitute the highest empyrean — the more immediate dwelling of God — the seat of his visible glories, still that NATURE, in all its varieties of worlds and beings, is, like its Creator, but ONE — exemplifying in all its complication of arrangements, however minute or stupendous, an unity of design, the simple, the uniform, the exquisite result of an infinite, all-gracious, omniscient, omnipotent MIND."— P. 95.

No part of this little work is more satisfactory than the section in which the scriptural evidence for and against

a separate soul is collected and weighed. It is perfectly clear that the nature of this evidence has been widely mistaken, as much through an excessive attachment to our common translation of the Scriptures, as through ignorance of the Jewish superstitions. Change *spirit* into *breath*, *soul* into *life*, *hell* into *hades*, and *paradise* into a *garden of rest*, as often as they might fairly be so changed, and what becomes of the evidence for the doctrine so long and pertinaciously held as a part of Christianity? With one more extract, containing a suggestion, of whose value our readers will judge for themselves, we conclude.

"With this history of the word Paradise before us, we may reasonably doubt that the modern sense of the word had ever been applied to it in the time of our Saviour. The sense in which he used it in that singular and often-quoted text, Luke xxiii. 43, remains now to be investigated. 'And one of the malefactors which were hanged railed on him, saying, If thou be Christ, save thyself and us: but the other answering rebuked him — and said unto Jesus, Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom: and Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in paradise.' It has been suggested to me by a learned and intelligent friend, in whose clear views, unbiassed judgment, and enlightened understanding, I place unqualified confidence, that the meaning of this passage has been utterly mistaken; and that whatever was the penitence of the thief, there was no beatitude in the paradise promised by our Saviour. On the contrary, that his words were intended as a check to those hopes of a temporal kingdom so generally entertained by all his followers, and which, from the preternatural events that attended his crucifixion, appeared on the very verge of being realized. — His revilers and persecutors exclaimed, 'If he be the *King of Israel*, let him now come down from the cross, and *we* will believe in him.' No wonder that those who already believed him, should also believe that the marvels they witnessed were but a prelude to his actual

descent from the cross, and the establishment of his expected kingdom. No wonder the malefactor, who was a Jew, trained up in the expectation of a Messiah that was to emancipate Judea, and extend his dominion over the earth, should fall into the same self-deception — should rebuke his railing companion; and, confiding in the power of the king of Israel thus awfully manifested, not only to save himself and them, but to advance their *temporal* interests in a kingdom which was indeed to embrace mankind, but which had no concern save with *spiritual* and *eternal* interests, should, with more of self-love than repentance, exclaim, 'Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom;' and Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, instead of that temporal kingdom thou dost hope for, to-day thou shalt be, with me, among the dead."—Pp. 125–127.

CHRISTIAN DISPENSATION.*

"WHAT is Christianity? the Unbeliever sarcastically demands, after enumerating the various and contradictory creeds of its professors." What is Christianity? he still inquires, when he has witnessed the modes in which it is taught in the cathedral and the conventicle; in the meeting-house and on the hill side. Those modes are various, as the preachers and auditories by whom they are employed, and to whom they are addressed; but all appear to him, in a greater or less degree, inconsistent with the principles of philosophy, calculated to pervert or impair the intellectual strength which he prizes above all things, and discordant with the spirit of the age. From teachings which are

* The Perpetuity of the Christian Dispensation, viewed in its Connexion with the Progress of Society. A Sermon, preached before the Supporters of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, at their Annual Meeting, June 2, 1830. By John James Tayler, A. B. London: 8vo. pp. 89. 1830.

prescribed by creeds and bounded by formularies, he expected nothing, and turns from them without disappointment. He joins the multitude who are gathered together to undergo a revival — a revival of tumultuous and unholy passions. He feels pity and disgust at the tears and groans of the sufferers, knows that all this is not religion, and strongly suspects that it is not Christianity. He enters meeting-houses where creeds are abjured and superstition reprobated. He hears assertions of the right of private judgment, and arguments in favor of unlimited freedom of thought and speech in matters of religion. These assertions he believes to be just, these arguments sound, because he maintains them himself: but these are not Christianity. Again, he listens to an exposure of some monstrous popular errors, and a condemnation of various doctrines which prevail in the Christian world. From these he learns what Christianity is not; but is as far as ever from ascertaining what it is. Again, he hears instructions which he knows to be sound, and exhortations which he feels to be forcible, on subjects of eternal importance, on purity of life, and the strict discharge of the moral law. Something very like this he has met with before in Epictetus, Marcus Antoninus, Seneca, and especially in the Old Testament. This is not Christianity. Where shall he seek it next? There are places, a very few — so few that it is well if he can find his way to them, where the teacher has not only discovered the fine affinities which subsist between the spirit of Christianity and the soul of man, but has had the courage to fling away the caput mortuum, which is commonly mistaken for the essence. That the Unbeliever has hitherto been unable to institute this process on the materials with which his wanderings have furnished him, is at once a proof and a consequence of his having fallen into the same error with the preachers who have only taught him what Christianity

is not. Now is his time to rectify his deficiencies. If he will act upon the religious suggestions of the preacher as readily as the preacher reasons from the principia of his philosophy, he may at length obtain an answer to his question, "What is Christianity?"

This answer he must obtain from his own mind; for it is one which no man can advance for another. The preacher himself can only determine for himself. He may teach the principles on which the investigation is to be pursued; he may remove obstructions, clear up obscurities, declare his own convictions, and, above all, describe the invariable effects, the inseparable attributes of Christianity, and thus lead his flock to the apprehension of the truth; but he cannot apprehend it for them. He may strip the essential facts of the gospel from their accessory circumstances, so that the reasoning faculty may be undisturbed in its operation, and the result be predicted with moral certainty; but over the act of assent he has no control. The power of drawing an inference is not transferable. If the Unbeliever, startled by finding his philosophic principles acted upon, should set about examining the facts of the revelation, and drawing the necessary inferences, it is well. If not, at least it is well to have learned that all Christian teachers do not believe that the vitality of the gospel resides in the apparel with which it is clothed, or even in the body which it temporarily inhabits.

The duty of the Christian teacher is to declare what he apprehends to be "the whole counsel of God;" not bit by bit, at random; — now a portion of doctrine, and now a piece of practical instruction, separated from the fundamental principles on which all sound doctrine and good practice are founded; but in the first place to ascertain those principles, then to announce them, and afterwards to assist his hearers in applying them to the rectification of their errors,

to the reformation of their souls, to the guidance of their external, and the invigoration of their internal life. Let no man say that this is philosophizing too much on sacred matters, and mixing human wisdom too presumptuously with divine. Let him observe how divine wisdom stands forth bright and clear when developed by these means. Let him estimate the difference of profit derived from the public reading of the Scriptures according to the different methods pursued. One preacher reads regularly a chapter from the Old Testament and a chapter from the New. They must be such as will stand alone; and they must be, on the face of them, practical. His choice is necessarily very limited. His flock hear what they have heard a hundred times before, in the same manner, and with a view to no ulterior purpose; and the familiar words pass over the ear and are forgotten. A teacher with different views, does not confine himself to chapters, or to one or two portions. He brings together passages from various departments of the sacred volume: passages whose connexion has never before perhaps been apparent to his hearers. New relations are discovered between various facts: many minor truths are combined in the support of a great one: light breaks in on the mind of the intelligent hearer, and a glimpse is obtained of the grand principle which it is the object of the subsequent discourse to set forth in completeness and beauty. That, by this process, the intellect is exercised and the taste gratified, is a recommendation rather than an objection to its adoption: and there is no fear but that those hearers whose intellects are sluggish, and whose tastes are uncultivated, will listen to as much purpose as to a moral essay, or a piece of textual criticism. Their little urns are full, and are more likely to be kept brimming than if exposed

to the evaporating heats of controversy, or the dry winds of antiquated ethics.

It is a delightful privilege, and one of modern date, to be enabled to describe what preaching ought to be from the observation of what it is. To own the truth, we might not have formed so clear a conception of what it ought to be, if we had not had the experience of what, in a few instances, it is. This conception will probably be originated in many minds; in many more, exalted and enlarged, by the sermon before us, which, while it amply fulfils the avowed design of its author in the scope and power of its reasonings, answers also the unintentional purpose of a perfect illustration.

The inseparable attributes of Christianity having been described, — those features which preserve an immortal youth and beauty amidst the revolutions of ages, — the institutions of the primitive Christians are shown to have been adapted to the circumstances of their times, but in no degree to have involved the essence of truth. The mistake of regarding the Scriptures, which are only the records of revelation, as the revelation itself, having been exposed, the two causes from which the Christian dispensation appears to have suffered most in its influence on mankind are declared to be, the concealment of the Scriptures during the ascendancy of the Church of Rome, and the misconception and injudicious application of them subsequent to the period of the Reformation.

"In the first of these crises we see the spirit of the dispensation buried under the weight of its secular institutions; in the second, extinguished by a minute and scrupulous interpretation of its historical records: and in both, we perceive Christianity identified with what is really distinct from itself, and is but a mode or a means of its existence."

Into the first of these errors there is little fear of our relapsing; but we are far from having outgrown the other

Whatever we may have owed to the prevalence of a rigid and literal principle of scriptural interpretation, the possibility of its producing any advantageous result is over, while it is still regarded by many with respect. The time for it is past; and nothing but evil can arise from the habit of looking to the Bible for rules for the regulation of every thought, word, and action, and for precedents for the decision of minute points of faith and conscience. It is not enough to declare the Bible to afford the rule of faith and practice; it is now time to discover what is the essence of that faith and the principle of that practice; — to infer, and not to quote, that rule.

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A distinct conception of what Christianity really is, is the first requisite for the work of developing its two preëminent proofs: namely, the one derived from its miraculous origin, and the other from its adaptation to our moral wants, and its striking coincidence with all the more prominent indications and analogies of our moral being. In order to obtain this conception, the freest investigation of the historical sources of the revelation, and the fullest participation in its spirit, are necessary.

The labors of the biblical critic, which are too often made to supersede those of the preacher, ought always to be considered subsidiary to them. The second of the grand proofs of the truth of Christianity resides in the heart of every man, and needs none of the resources of biblical learning to bring it to light, though such aid may confirm and extend the evidence in a very important degree. The office of the student is to uncover the springs of truth: it is for the religious teacher to open the sluices, and shed abroad the streams of living waters. Let them but be pure, and no thirsty soul will long refuse to drink.

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To this great cause the writer of this admirable discourse is rendering the most important aid which it is in the power of an individual to confer. Having employed the powers of a strong intellect in its season of utmost vigor, on the noblest range of subjects which is presented to human speculation, he offers with frankness, and with that modesty which is the concomitant of eminent desert, the fruits of his labors, matured by reflection and arranged with grace. His views have obtained, as they richly deserve, the ptaise of originality: we hope and believe that the time is at hand when they will have become common, and when there will be a fair prospect of their universality. Yet never will due honor be withheld from the first percipients and promulgators of truth. Those who have witnessed the betrothment of philosophy with religion, and who keep their lamps burning for the marriage, shall be the first to join in the nuptial rejoicings, and to interpret the epithalamium, which, sung by the guardian spirits of humanity, shall echo from earth to heaven.

CROMBIE'S NATURAL THEOLOGY.*

It would be well for society if such philosophers as Dr. Crombie were more common than they are. He is a Joseph Hume in philosophy, — an acute detector of errors, a persevering rectifier of abuses. Highly as we respect his talents, we respect yet more the love of truth which has determined

* Natural Theology; or Essays on the Existence of Deity, and of Providence, on the Immateriality of the Soul, and a Future State. By the Rev. Alexander Crombie, LL. D., &c. 2 Vols. Hunter, and T. Hookham. 1829.

his choice of a field for their exercise. To apply the fruits of laborious research, and the powers of a discerning intellect, to other purposes than the increase of his own fame, argues no small self-denial; and less gifted inquirers after truth are not a little indebted to the friendly guide who is more careful to remove stumbling-blocks from their path, than to find a new one for himself where they might not be able to follow him. We know not whether most to admire the spirit of enterprise which prompted to such a task as the work before us, or the patience and fidelity with which it is executed. It is irksome enough to a Theist to go over, in conversation, the arguments for a belief which has long been the groundwork of all his other convictions, and of his whole course of action. It is painful enough to be occasionally reminded of the depths of absurdity and the heights of impiety which the human mind has reached, in the endeavour to compass the most stupendous object of human inquiry. How much more irksome and painful must it be to refute by so slow an instrument as the pen, arguments which have been already a thousand times refuted, and to bring together systems of false philosophy so absurd as to make it scarcely credible that they can have been so mischievous as it is well known they have been! How great must be the courage and zeal of him who voluntarily engages in another struggle with the hydra-headed monster of Atheism! And what do we not owe him if he should succeed in showing that the world has beheld the upper parts of the monster through a multiplying glass; or, at least, that many of the heads sprout from one neck, and may be struck off by a single blow! It has been a common error to suppose that there have been almost as many systems of Atheism, as there have been Atheists; and hence has arisen an excessive dread of the effects of the Atheistical philosophy, and an exaggerated estimate of its strength. Dr. Crombie has rendered an important service

by showing what the philosophy really is, and how its various forms may be referred to a very few false principles. Whether such a service is needed in the present state of society, may be questioned by some who, like ourselves, have never seen, or are not aware of having ever seen, an Atheist. To us, an Atheist is a pure abstraction. We even find it difficult to form a conception of such a being: but we are obliged to believe the word of Dr. Crombie and others who attest his existence; and, his existence being admitted, the utility of the work before us (if well executed) follows of course.

"The work is offered to the public," says the author in the preface, "under the persuasion that it may be useful in contributing somewhat to check the spread of the most baneful delusion that can darken the human mind — a delusion which, there is reason to apprehend, extends farther than is generally believed — much farther, certainly, than every friend to religion and humanity would wish. In this country, the degrading doctrine has, in some recent publications, been rather insinuated, than openly avowed. In a volume, entitled 'Academical Questions,' by the late Sir William Drummond, the hypothesis of Atheism has been advocated without disguisement, and with no reserve. On the continent, several works have lately appeared, by the authors of which it has been either openly inculcated, or insidiously recommended. Some of them being scientific productions, but with the poison covertly infused, find many readers who would shrink from the perusal of a book professing the advocacy of an infidelity so noxious and so debasing."

If the race of Atheists was, however, extinct — if we could only infer their former existence from the scattered remnants of their works, as we argue concerning the lost species of antediluvian animals from their fossil remains, Dr. Crombie's book would still answer an important object, by its examination of the metaphysical arguments for the existence of the Deity. If this mode of argument be unsatisfactory and

inconclusive, it is most desirable that it should be shown to be so; lest the champions of truth should be again sent forth in some future warfare, with brittle armor and untempered weapons. Metaphysical arguments have been used to prove that the Deity does not exist. Reasoners on the opposite side of the question have been anxious to meet their adversaries on their own ground, and have adopted the same method to establish a contrary position. The results have been far from satisfactory; and if the prevalence of error has been prolonged by the choice of an injudicious mode of defence, it can at no time be unimportant to expose the imprudence, and thus to guard against its recurrence.

The other objects of the work before us are to establish the doctrine of the Being of a God, by the argument from Design; to treat of the Attributes of the Deity; of his Providence; of the Immateriality of the Soul; and of the natural arguments for a future State.

After an introduction, in which the author recommends a calm discussion of disputed points, in preference to contempt and invective on the one side, and levity and presumption on the other, and adds his testimony to the value of Theism, he proceeds to display the causes of Atheism.

These causes are — the tendency of philosophers to employ, and of their disciples to adopt, terms, without any accurate notion of the meaning of the sign, or any certainty of the existence of the thing signified; the habit of confining the attention to such views and speculations as have a tendency to confirm a sceptical disposition; overweening self-confidence, and the contrary extreme of excessive deference for the opinions of others; the use of an inappropriate species of argument; degrading apprehensions of the nature of Deity; and finally, the carelessness and deadness which are apt to follow a familiarity with those appearances of nature which afford the best proof of the Being of a God.

From some of these causes may be traced the origin of every Atheistical system, from the atomic theory of Epicurus to Hume's medley of inconsistencies. The founders of each sect have been misled by inattention to the indispensable consideration, "Ad veritatem inveniendam, præcipuum est cavisse, ne voces male intellectæ nobis officiant, quod omnes fere monent philosophi, pauci observant." Their disciples have been prejudiced by familiarity with only one side of the question, and by excessive deference to the authority of their teachers; while all have been encouraged and confirmed in mistakes by the injudicious modes of defence, and the imperfect conceptions, adopted by the advocates of Theism.

There is nothing Atheistical (however absurd) in the belief of the eternity of matter. No one of the ancient philosophers appears to have attained to so exalted a conception of the nature and attributes of God as Plato, who declares the world to be necessarily "an Eternal Resemblance of the eternal Idea." Aristotle asserted the eternity of the world, not in opposition to the belief of the being, or of the power, wisdom and goodness of God, but because he fancied that an eternal Cause must produce an eternal Effect. The same doctrine was held by some of the primitive Christians; and Justin Martyr informs us that it generally prevailed in his time, quoting Moses as its original propounder. The belief arose, no doubt, from the impossibility of conceiving how matter could be created; men being ever prone to constitute their own conceptions the measure of possibility. It will be time enough, however, for us to assert the impossibility of the creation of matter when we know what matter is, and how it exists. In the mean time, if obliged to admit the eternity of an immaterial existence, it is clearly unphilosophical to assert two eternal existences, when one is sufficient to account for the origin of all others.

Some philosophers, perceiving this, have chosen to reject one of these eternal existences, and, clinging to their difficulty about the creation of matter, have declared the belief in an intelligent Cause to be unnecessary. The question next arises, how matter became moulded into its present forms. According to Leucippus, Democritus, and the Epicurean philosophers, the elements of matter were, in the revolution of ages, by accident, or the laws of an intelligent nature, shaped into their present appearances. This doctrine has found advocates in almost every age. Whether Hume adopted it, it is not easy to say; for his systems were almost as various as the moods of thought in which he sat down to favor the world with his speculations. He now declares that, in an infinite series of ages, matter could not but fall into every possible variety of forms, and that therefore the supposition of intelligence is not needed to account for the most delicate organization; and presently he asserts that "Chance has no place on any hypothesis, sceptical or religious." Again, he supposes a Principle of Order inherent in matter, which, as he says, "at once solves all difficulties;" and presently, supposes that "the universe may have been, for many ages, in a continued succession of chaos and disorder;" during which period, we must suppose the principle which he assumes to have suspended itself.

The Epicurean system rests on the assumption that certain active powers are inherent in matter; an assumption which the Theist denies. Assumption and denial are, however, useless where the question must be decided by argument. It is the part of the Theist to prove first, that we know not that matter possesses any active powers; and, secondly, that if it did, we know not that they are eternally and independently its own. All that we know of the question of Power is, that certain consequents regularly follow certain antecedents, and we therefore suppose that a connexion exists between them, but

of the nature of that connexion we are wholly ignorant. It is a universally received principle, that no being can act where it does not exist; and therefore, those who believe in the active powers of matter, are bound to disprove the existence of a vacuum. If the existence of a vacuum be allowed, the question occurs, how the sun and the earth can act on each other where they are not: if it be denied, it remains to be explained how the resistance which matter offers to matter has not been sufficient, in the course of an eternity, to stop the progress of the globe through the regions of space. If a vacuum exists, the power exerted resides in an immaterial being: if a vacuum does not exist, some powers inherent in matter are in opposition to other powers — attraction to repulsion, &c.; while it still remains to be explained how the *vis inertiæ*, which all unite in ascribing to matter, was originally, and is perpetually, overcome. It is natural enough that men should be dissatisfied with their ignorance of the connexion between causes and effects, and that their dissatisfaction should prompt them to interpose a something between the antecedent and the consequent, to which they give the name of power: but there is nothing in a name; and it has never been shown that there is more meaning in the "inherent powers" of the Atheistic philosophers, than in the φιλια and εχθρα of Aristotle. "What is there," says Malebranche, "which Aristotle cannot at once propose and resolve, by his fine words of genus, species, act, power, nature, form, faculties, qualities, *causa per se*, *causa per accidens?* His followers find it very difficult to comprehend that these words signify nothing; and that we are not more learned than we were before, when we have heard them tell us, in their best manner, that fire melts metals, because it has a solvent faculty; and that some unfortunate epicure or glutton digests ill, because he has a weak digestion, or because the *vis concoctrix* does not perform its functions well."

Dr. Crombie offers a brief but satisfactory examination of the cosmogonies which have been invented under this system; all of which are liable to the same objections, and all inconsistent with what knowledge we possess of the properties of matter. La Place's theory is only worthy of more consideration than the rest, from being presented with modesty and diffidence. Having assumed that matter consists of nebulous particles highly attenuated, it is very easy to declare that by one process those particles are conglomerated into planets, and by another into a comet's tail, and so on: but the question is, how came these particles to be nebulous? What originated the various processes? Whence proceeded the powers by which the processes were modified? And yet La Place expressed astonishment and regret that Newton should have considered a presiding Power to have been necessary for the accomplishment of a work which attraction alone is capable of effecting. It would have been no more than reasonable to explain what attraction is, before requiring any mind to assent to its all-sufficiency.

To assume that Chance or Necessity will account for the production of the material universe, is yet more unsatisfactory. What is Chance? What is Necessity? An active power? A substantial existence? A state or mode of existence? Or a conception of the human intellect? If either of the two first, where can we detect their presence? How shall we trace their operation? And how did they originate? If not a substance, how can the existence of eternal substances be modified by them? Again our doubts are met by words — mere words.

Supposing, however, that the globe was formed, surrounded with an atmosphere, and supplied with light and heat, by the concourse of atoms conglomerated by chance, how are we to account for organization and life? Does sensation depend on the position of particles? And if it does, has it ever been

produced by any other medium than that of animal operation? Our experience affords as great a certainty as experience can give, that brute matter can be animalized only by animal operation. Whence then arose the first animal? Mr. Hume, following his Epicurean masters, may tell us that with a finite number of elements, all possible combinations must take place in eternity, and may thus imagine that all arrangements are accounted for; but something more than arrangement requires explanation.

"We have to explain how life, sensation, and intellect, originated. No assemblage of atoms, though they should assume, by chance or necessity, the shape of a man, could form a sentient and intelligent being, any more than a human creature can be produced, when the statuary has chiselled his marble from the block." — Vol. I. p. 175.

The hypothesis, advocated by the author of the Systême de la Nature, that the earth originally possessed a conservative and nutritive power which hatched certain particles into animated beings, may be dispatched with the same reply. What evidence have we of such a power, and by whom or what was it conferred? What has become of it, and why does it not still exist? Mr. Hume's "eternal principle of order" deserves no more consideration. A principle is a beginning, a spring, or cause; so that, according to Mr. Hume, order arose from a cause of order: and this truism, he declares, solves all difficulties! This principle of order he supposes to be an internal, unknown cause; so that it appears all difficulties are not yet solved. "There is no more difficulty," he says, "in conceiving that the several elements, from an internal, unknown cause, may fall into the most exquisite arrangements, than to conceive that their ideas in the great universal mind, from a like unknown cause, fall into that arrangement." Passing over the gross irreverence of this comparison, it may be asked, what those ideas are:

for Mr. Hume is careful to inform us that he dismisses matter and mind as nonentities, retaining only impressions and ideas. These must, with the principle which arranges them, consist of some third substance, which, for aught he could tell, might be Deity. The hypothesis of the Principle of Order is adopted by Sir W. Drummond, the author of "Academical Questions." He, however, asserts the existence of matter, whose primary particles he declares to have been originally precisely similar in all respects, except as to position; and that according to their various modes of motion, is the present diversity in the phenomena of nature. How these particles came to be differently placed, is left to conjecture; as also, how life originated. But we agree with our author that "it is time to dismiss these extravagant cosmogonies, which resemble the dreams of a distempered fancy, *ægri somnia*, more than the grave speculations of a rational and philosophic mind." He asks with great propriety, whether the discordance of these various sceptical hypotheses arises from the "principle of order" so strongly advocated by their authors? If not, perhaps it may be accounted for by Chance, Nature, or Necessity. That truth will be turned up among them, however, appears a very remote contingency.

The theory, advocated by many, that the world has existed from eternity in its present state, is refuted by those advocates themselves when they assert that causes are in operation which will work its destruction. "For, as a system which has been from eternity, must, in its essence or construction, be everlasting, so a system which must come to an end, must have had a commencement. If there be causes now in operation which must ultimately derange our globe, its vegetable and animal beings must have had an origin." If, as recent observations render it highly probable, not to say morally certain, the whole solar system is gradually moving towards the constellation Hercules — if the moon is gradually

approaching nearer to the earth — if friction and resistance retard, however little, the projectile motion of our globe, how does it happen that the earth has existed through an eternity? How can it be declared to have so existed in its present state, while its future destruction is, at the same time, predicted? How is the intellectual condition of man to be accounted for, on this hypothesis? Granting that his progress may be infinite, it is clear that, as invention and discovery are the means of that progress, it must have had a beginning. If the human race be supposed to have existed for an eternity of ages without any exertion of intellect, it is clear that the world was not then, as the hypothesis states, in its present condition: and on the other hand, an infinite series of inventions and discoveries is an evident absurdity. The farther we go back, the nearer we approach to a limit, till the series is exhausted.

The system of Spinoza, which is supposed to have numerous adherents abroad, and a few advocates in this country, is examined at considerable length by our author. Its chief importance is derived from the mystery with which it is invested, and to which alone, we conceive, it owes its reception by any rational mind. His disciples themselves have never been able to agree as to whether his system is to be called Atheistical or Pantheistical; whether it contains doctrines irreconcilable with Theism, or derogatory to the character of the Supreme Being; or whether he believed no such Being to exist, or held him to be material. As far, however, as his meaning can be gathered from his ambiguous terms, his false assumptions, his identical propositions, and inaccurate definitions, it appears to be this: That it is impossible for any thing to be created or produced by another thing: that it is impossible for God to have produced any thing different from what it now is: that every thing that exists must be a part of the Divine nature, by absolute necessity,

and not as a modification caused by the Divine will; in short, that the universe itself is Deity. The charge "Deum verbis ponere, re tollere," may therefore be fairly alleged against Spinoza; and if it be true that his disciples are yet numerous, the time which Dr. Crombie has employed in exposing the fallacies of his philosophy, has not been ill-spent. It is clear that the arguments employed against all the other systems which assume the eternity of matter, afford a sufficient confutation of this also; and it thus appears that all the absurd cosmogonies, all the conflicting hypotheses of Atheism, have arisen from a very few false principles, and may be overthrown by the application of a very few correct ones.

We fully agree with our author respecting the inapplicability of metaphysical arguments to the proof of the existence of Deity; and his remarks on the nature of Evidence, we esteem the most valuable part of his book. His exposure of the inaccuracy of Dr. Clarke's reasoning, we hold to be complete; and we can only wonder that the errors in that writer's "Demonstration," &c., should have been current so long; and that in conversation, in books, and from the pulpit, we should still be plied with arguments which to the Theist are needless, and which the Atheist has always been able to elude.

"So confidently," says Dr. C., "has this mode of argumentation been employed, that it has even been asserted, that no mathematical deduction, or intuitive truth, is accompanied with a clearer evidence. Now, the existence of a Supreme Being is not a necessary truth; it is a question of fact. It cannot be demonstrated that a Deity must be, or that the contrary proposition involves an absurdity. That something must have existed from eternity, is self-evident; and what this something is, constitutes the question between the Theist and the Atheist. The one asserts the eternity of matter; the other that of an Intelligent First Cause, the author of all existence. The question of Deity then being a question of

fact, and the subjects of metaphysical evidence being the necessary and immutable relations of our ideas, it is clear that this species of argument is wholly inapplicable to this, as to every question which relates to actual existence. These metaphysical reasonings, therefore, have failed to convince. They are not only abstruse and perplexing, but, when strictly examined, will be found inconclusive. Hence they have proved injurious to the doctrine which they have been offered to establish." — Vol. I. p. 49.

"The learned and sagacious Dr. Clarke, though he resorted to metaphysical reasoning to demonstrate the existence of Deity, seems to have been fully aware that this species of argumentation is much less calculated to produce conviction than that which is derived from the phenomena of nature. This is sufficiently manifest from a conversation which passed between him and Mr. Whiston, on the subject of his celebrated work on the Being and Attributes of God. 'I was,' says Whiston, 'in my garden, against St. Peter's College, Cambridge, where I then lived. Now I perceived that in these sermons, he had dealt a great deal in abstract and metaphysical reasoning. I therefore asked him how he ventured into such subtilties, which I never durst meddle with; and showing him a nettle, or some contemptible weed in my garden, I told him that weed contained better arguments for the Being and Attributes of God than all his metaphysics. Clarke confessed it to be so; but alleged for himself, that since such philosophers as Hobbes and Spinoza had made use of those kinds of subtilties *against*, he thought it proper to show that the like way of reasoning might be made better use of *on the side of* religion; which reason or excuse I allowed to be not inconsiderable.' (Whiston's Memoirs.) Such was the motive, it would appear, which induced Dr. Clarke to resort to the employment of abstract arguments, in order to overthrow the reasoning of these subtile metaphysicians, and to establish the doctrine of Theism. While we acknowledge the necessity of meeting an adversary on his own ground, we must at the same time remark, that it is one thing to expose

his fallacies, and quite another thing to attempt the establishment of the doctrine which he impugns, by arguments equally inapposite as his own. It would have been quite sufficient, and less dangerous, if Dr. Clarke had rested satisfied with disproving the abstract doctrines of Spinoza." — "But though the existence of an Intelligent First Cause cannot, from the very nature of the subject, be evinced with the same certainty as a mathematical truth, or its contrary be proved to involve a metaphysical contradiction, it will be found on examination to rest on evidence so clear and conclusive, as to compel the assent of every candid inquirer, whose understanding has not been entangled in metaphysical subtilties, and whose reason is not inaccessible to the authority of that evidence, of which alone the question is susceptible. It is quite as ridiculous for a man to refuse his assent to a fact, because it cannot be demonstrated by scientific reasoning, or is incapable of mathematical proof, as to deny sound, because it cannot be seen, or smell, because it cannot be touched. It is moral evidence on which the question rests, the sources of which we shall now briefly explain." — Vol. I. pp. 351 - 354.

After treating of the sources of Moral Evidence, and showing that no process of abstract reasoning has been instituted to evince the existence of an Intelligent First Cause, which may not be either evaded by an opponent, or in which may not be detected the circular sophism, or a *petitio. principii*, the author proceeds to unfold the evidence by which the most important of all facts is established.

Wherever we find order and regularity obtaining either uniformly, or in a vast majority of instances, where the possibilities of disorder are indefinitely numerous, we are justified in inferring from this fact an intelligent cause. If it be inquired, "Whence this inference?" it is replied, that "it is intuitively obvious that out of any given number of equally possible results, the chance of one taking place in exclusion of the rest, must be as 1 to the number of the others. Our belief, therefore, that a given one will not take place by acci-

dent, must be more or less strong, as the others are more or less numerous; and where an indefinite number on one side is opposed to unity on the other, to believe that unity will, not only in one instance, but in an indefinite number of similar instances, be accidentally the result, is much the same as to believe that unity is equal to infinity." Not that it is to be imagined that the inference usually depends on any nice calculation of chances, or that scientific computation is necessary to the conclusion. A person who knows his letters, and little beyond, perceives intuitively that the chances in favor of the alphabet being laid in regular order by design prodigiously overbalance those which exclude intelligence, though he may be unable to calculate their relative proportions. A like inference is deducible from an obvious suitability of means to ends; a concurrence of causes, various and complicated, towards a production of effects. These furnish conclusive evidence of design; and design necessarily implies the existence of intelligence. From whatever principle this conviction is supposed to originate, — from the clear evidence of mathematical probability, from the perception of analogy, from an instinctive principle, or a process of association, it matters not to the argument to decide. It is sufficient that it is universally admitted in theory, and acted upon in common life. Mr. Hume himself always proceeded on the belief that books were printed by types, that houses were made to live in, and flowers and fruits to be smelled and eaten.

The species of evidence being thus unfolded, we are next led to the inquiry, whether the phenomena of the universe present such indications of order, beauty, and harmony, as justify us in attributing their origin to a Designing Cause. Our author has added some valuable and interesting facts to the number collected by Vince, Paley, and many other writers in support of Theism. The evidence of an Intelligent Cause

which he educes from the intellectual and moral constitution of man is peculiarly striking. Our disagreement with him on some minor points of his philosophy (which, however, we have no room to notice) rather enhances than impairs the pleasure which we feel in adopting his conclusions, and sympathizing with his admiration of the wisdom which originated the powers of thought, and so combined the intellectual with the organic faculties that man is enabled to ascend from the perception of material objects to that of individual truths, thence to the general conclusions of science and philosophy, and by a process of moral discipline yet more striking and beautiful, to that spirituality which overcomes the world.

The attributes of Deity, namely, Unity, Infinity, Immateriality, Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, are next established on irresistible evidence. The objections to the infinite benevolence of God, founded on the existence of evil, are candidly and luminously treated. Accustomed as we are to hear these objections stigmatized as impious, or despised as foolish, it is a satisfaction to find that Dr. Crombie admits their force, while his faith in the Divine benignity remains unshaken. To us it appears that the origin of evil has never been accounted for, and most probable that it never will be explained, in the present state of being; and while we gratefully acknowledge the wisdom and love which are apparent in the process by which good is educed from evil, we cannot see why infinite power and goodness could not have effected the same purposes by different instruments. Not only under the pressure of suffering, but in hours of pure enjoyment, the "obstinate questionings" which cannot be satisfied, and will not be silenced, recur, and must still recur; and, "Whence is evil?" is the inquiry which we must echo or be mute. It is, doubtless, well for us that such a necessity is imposed. It is good for human reason to be reminded that there is a boundary which she must not pass; it is well that

faith should be taught to look through darkness, that hope should be invigorated by doubt, and charity taught to look back with awe on her mysterious origin. It is impossible that the restless intellect should not strive to break the bars which confine it; that the mind which loves truth should not painfully feel its inability to reconcile inconsistencies which cannot be overlooked; but the intellectual is not the highest department of our constitution; and while the understanding sinks baffled and exhausted, the powers of faith may be strengthened for a steady and a lofty flight. It is enough for the support of our trust to see that the majority of evils produce a preponderance of good, and to believe that the same tendency exists in all; it is animating to dwell on the conviction that evil is only a present aspect of things which will be changed as our sphere of vision becomes enlarged; it is consoling to mark within ourselves the transmutation of sin into holiness, of sorrow into peace; it is productive of perfect satisfaction to review the evidence for the perfect love and unbounded power of the Father of our spirits. But still the reason is unsatisfied. It is useless to say that beings must be finite, and therefore imperfect. Finite beings may be relatively perfect. It is useless to urge that the majority of evils are incidental, that they produce a balance of good, and originate the most exalted virtues. Did not the Deity foresee the evils which are termed incidental? Or, foreseeing, could he not exclude them? Why was not the balance of good, why were not the virtues, produced by other means than the intervention of suffering? We know not: and in our ignorance we must acquiesce, assured that when a further insight into the mysteries of Providence shall become beneficial to us, it will be granted. Among the various salutary purposes to which evil is made subservient, Dr. Crombie advances one, which he is not aware has been presented by any preceding writer. He believes that it is

through the medium of evil that man arrives at the knowledge of a Wise and Designing Cause. The ground on which his opinion rests, he thus states:

"When we infer design from the construction of any curious and complicated piece of machinery, we perceive that the materials of which it is made, the formation of the several parts, and the arrangement of them into one whole, are such as are adapted to the effect which we presume to have been intended. But if we had no conception of unfit materials, or of an improper form of parts, or an incongruous arrangement, the machine, how ingeniously soever constructed, could not impress us with any indication of design, nor, in truth, could we form any notion of ingenuity. This is self-evident: for in design are implied the contemplation of an end, and the adaptation of means; but to adjust means to an end, implies a choice of circumstances; and where there can be no conception of defect, imperfection, or error, — no idea of greater or less aptitude, or an unfitness for the purpose, there can be no idea of choice, no exercise for discrimination. It is the selection of certain materials out of many sorts, the adoption of certain out of various forms of parts, and the arrangement of the whole out of various possible collocations, that display the hand of intelligence in the construction of any piece of mechanism. The same observation is applicable to the constitution of the universe. It is from the selection of fit means to beneficial ends, out of numberless possibilities of a contrary tendency, that we infer the intelligence and benevolence of the Author. As from uninterrupted light, we should have no idea of darkness, so from a state of things uniformly good, we should have no conception of evil or imperfection, and therefore no evidence of design or benevolence." — Vol. II. p. 217.

The reader will judge for himself of the justice of this argument. We will only suggest that it appears to exclude the possibility of a state of perfect happiness; as we can imagine no happiness which is independent of action; and

no action which is not carried on by the adaptation of means to ends. Wherever such an adaptation is used, it is clear that there may be conceptions of a Wise and Designing Cause. In the following conclusions, it is the privilege of all consistent Theists to agree.

"Where infinity is the subject, we are necessarily bewildered; but without perplexing ourselves with discussions, respecting the compatibility of evil with the infinitude of the Divine attributes, discussions, to which our limited faculties are wholly unequal, every reasonable man will feel his happiness sufficiently secured in the perfection of the Deity, the source of all excellence, the most powerful, and, at the same time, the wisest and best of all Beings. The orbs, that fly with inconceivable velocity through the regions of space, proclaim his power: the manifold adaptation of means to ends, in this our lower system, displays his wisdom: and we ourselves, with the sentient creation around us, exhibit evidences of his goodness. Our enjoyments are numberless, our sufferings comparatively few. Why the latter are not wholly excluded, or why an equal degree of happiness is not produced without the medium of evil, is a question which we vainly essay to solve. Under the charge, however, of incomprehensible wisdom, inconceivable power, and unchangeable goodness, we need entertain no apprehensions, that our happiness will not be effectually consulted. God is powerful, wise, and benevolent. Here, then, let us confidently rest, submitting, with due humility, our weak reason to the counsels of Eternal and Unerring Wisdom." — Vol. II. p. 248.

The same arguments which prove the Being of a God, establish the doctrine of a Providence; as the only evidence which men have of his existence is derived from his manifest relations to them as their Maker and Preserver. This evidence appears to us to be of a nature to preclude the doubts which, however, still subsist whether the mode of providential operation be general, universal, or particular.

It has been the opinion of many philosophers and theologians that Providence acts by means of general laws, established at the creation, which regulate only the more important concerns of human life; providing for the species, but not for individuals; and that by the clashing of these laws arise the various deviations from order for which it is otherwise difficult to account. To hold this belief, however, is to limit those attributes of Deity on which the doctrine of a Providence is founded. If any event can take place, the causes and consequences of which were not foreknown, the Divine Prescience is imperfect. If any sentient existence was ever conferred without such a previous adjustment of circumstances as would ensure the ultimate happiness of that existence, the benevolence of the Giver of life is impeachable. This belief that Providence is only general, assumes also that the aspect of events is the same to the Divine and the human mind; that what appears trifling to the one is disregarded by the other; and that what men call important influences are those which alone are worthy of the Divine cognizance. Yet how commonly do the greatest events spring from the most insignificant causes! The most trifling act of carelessness, a casual touch, the inhaling of a single breath, has carried the plague into countries where thousands of lives have fallen a sacrifice to it. The fire of London began in an obscure corner of an obscure house in an obscure part of the city. Wars of devastation have arisen from disputes more trifling than disturb the peace of every alehouse every day; and the conflicting feelings in the mind of Luther which originated the Reformation were probably not very different in kind or degree from those which have agitated thousands of ignobler minds since the world began. If Napoleon had been born a year sooner or later, the state of society would have been so far different as to form his mind, and therefore

to shape his fortunes, and through his, the fortunes of the world, in a widely different manner from that which we have witnessed and experienced. To adopt the ingenious speculation of an able writer (the author of Essays on the Formation and Publication of Opinions):

"The affairs of France would have fallen into different hands, and have been conducted in another manner. The measures of the British cabinet, the debates in parliament, the subsidies to foreign powers, the battles by sea and land, the marches and countermarches, the wounds, deaths, and promotions, the fears and hopes and anxieties of a thousand individuals, would all have been different. The speculations of those writers and speakers who employed themselves in discussing these various subjects, and canvassing the conduct of this celebrated man, would not have been called forth. The train of ideas in every mind interested in public affairs would not have been the same. Pitt would not have made the same speeches, nor Fox the same replies. Lord Byron's poetry would have wanted some splendid passages. The Duke of Wellington might have still been plain Arthur Wellesley" (and the principle of religious liberty might have been yet unrecognised by the government of Great Britain). "The imagination of the reader will easily carry him through all the various consequences to soldiers and sailors, tradesmen and artisans, printers and booksellers, downward through every gradation of society. In a word, when we take into account these various consequences, and the thousand ways in which the mere intelligence of Bonaparte's proceedings, and of the measures to counteract them, influenced the feelings, the speech, and the actions of mankind, it is scarcely too much to say, that the single circumstance of Bonaparte's birth happening when it did has more or less affected almost every individual in Europe, as well as a numerous multitude in the other quarters of the globe."

If the ravages of war and pestilence, the renovation of Christianity, and the fortunes of a continent, are not, with

the causes from which they spring, the objects of Divine cognizance, the doctrine of a Providence must be relinquished.

The distinction between a universal and a particular Providence, though often adopted, is merely nominal. It arises (like almost every other mistake or difficulty to which we are liable on subjects of this nature) from our proneness to liken the Deity to ourselves, and to suppose too close a resemblance between the methods of Divine and human agency. To the Divine mind all ideas must be supposed to be ever present; while to human faculties they arise in succession. This succession originates our conception of Time; while it is inconceivable that such a conception should bear a relation to the Divine Mind, any more than extension to the Divine substance. Hence, while our thoughts and our actions are successive; while our memory wanders through the past, and our imagination works its way through the dimness of the future; while effort succeeds to effort; while a chain of thoughts is evolved, and a sum of actions accumulated, — to God, "one day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years are as one day;" he not only sees the end from the beginning, but the beginning and the end are identical: the actions of an eternity are comprehended in one energy; the interests of a universe are ordained, created, established, and immortalized at once and for ever. The question is not, therefore, whether the Father of all the families of the earth provided for their individual fortunes, ages ago, while he no longer interferes with the course of events, or whether he guides the influences as they arise; but whether it is most easy for man to conceive of the one mode of agency or of the other. It is the choice of a medium through which an immutable object may be viewed; the choice between two methods of demonstrating an unalter-

able truth; and involves no supposition of a change in the object, or of a modification of the truth under contemplation. The truest wisdom, therefore, is for every mind to conceive of the superintendence of Providence in that mode which nourishes the strongest convictions of unerring wisdom, and of unwearied tenderness. The child may be allowed, and should be encouraged, to think of his heavenly Father as smiling on his nascent efforts of duty, and frowning on his disobedience; as bestowing his trivial enjoyments, watching his occupations, and guarding his slumbers, in bodily presence, since no other presence is conceivable by the infant mind: while the philosopher may attempt to express his inadequate conceptions by his yet more inadequate language; speaking of One whose "centre is every where, and His circumference no where;" who originates the faintest motion in the material universe, while he bestows the infinite blessedness of an immortal existence on an innumerable multitude of spiritual beings. The latter of these modes of conception is not too high, if it does not impair the confidence of trust, or the sense of responsibility; the former is not too low, if it aids the growth of holy awe and fervent love. Both are, doubtless, inadequate, almost equally so: yet neither is so inadequate as the supposition, adopted by the learned Cudworth and a few others, that the various phenomena of the world are produced by the agency of a vital, spiritual, and unintelligent substance, to which the name of a Plastic Nature is given. It is sufficient to say that we have no evidence of the existence of such a being; but it is clear that so strange a hypothesis arose from the unworthy imagination that action is incompatible with the dignity of the Divine nature. All dignity, however, consists in action, as Being itself is evinced by action; and in proportion to the energy and the perfection of action, is the perfection of Being, in dignity

as well as in happiness. Thus only can we conceive of being, of happiness, of dignity, and of perfection. The hypothesis of Cudworth does not in the least remove his own fancied difficulty; for this Plastic Nature must have originated with God; and according to the established maxim, "Causa causæ causa causati," the operations of the deputy are the operations of the principal, where that principal is prescient. This Idol of the Theatre may therefore be forgotten with the thousand others which may innocently divert the imagination when the occupations of the reasoning power are suspended; but which should never be allowed to make sport among the grave employments of the humble and patient intellect.

The Essay on the Immateriality of the Soul, we must pass over entirely, for the simple reason that the subject is so interesting, and that so much must be said if any thing is said at all, that our remarks would probably extend to the length of the Essay itself. Such of our readers as take an interest in one of the most difficult of philosophical questions, and indeed all who have outgrown the vulgar belief that Atheist and Materialist are convertible terms, will do well to study this chapter of the work before us. They will find the question clearly, and, on the whole, impartially stated; and that Dr. Crombie has a decided opinion upon it, for reasons which he has given at length. Those who know that the controversies on this point have sometimes ended in reciprocal conversion, and sometimes in the discovery that the substance which one reasoner called Matter was the same which his opponent meant by Spirit, will not be disappointed if they are long in arriving at conviction, where the question is surrounded with difficulties apparently insuperable. Happily the subject is of no practical importance, further than that the obscurity or development of truth always has an influence, direct or

indirect, on our course of action; according to the established rule that the clearer are our conceptions, the more energetic will be our practice. The immediate connexion between principles and practice is revealed to all; but no one can say what indirect relations any one truth may bear to morals: and those who are employed in investigations which appear mere matter of curiosity, may be rendering a service of which they and their contemporaries little dream, to the eternal interests of their race.

The fourth Essay contains an examination of the Theistical arguments for a Future State. The only difference of opinion respecting their value is as to the degree of probability which they establish. Believing, as we do, that the hope of a future life which is universal in the world, originated in a revelation, we find it difficult to judge of the strength of arguments which we hold to be needless, and which, on the whole, appear to us very unsatisfactory. To those who have been brought up in a Christian country, of whose earliest associations the idea of a future life formed a part, to whom the decay and renovation of nature were pointed out as types of a more mournful decay and a brighter renovation, who have been taught to regard every pure thought, every high aspiring, as a foretaste, and the Scriptures themselves as the pledge, of an immortal existence, it is difficult, if not impossible, to conceive what their imaginations or convictions would have been in different circumstances, and under an opposite mode of education. We believe, however, that no unassisted reasonings on the tendencies of the soul, on the influences of conscience, on the love of life, on the unsatisfying nature of present enjoyments, and on the abortions of nature — no observation of analogies, no such conceptions of the Divine attributes as could have been formed within us, would have inspired such faith as to enable us to leap into the gulf at the call

of patriotism, or to inspire disappointment at our inability to sacrifice life for a friend. The heathen martyrs to patriotism and friendship were, we think, actuated by stronger convictions than could have been established by the presumptions and probabilities of arguments which could hardly have been suggested by other means than an apprehension of the truth they were intended to reveal. If the idea of a future life were once suggested, it is easy to see the use of the natural arguments in favor of it in vivifying and confirming the apprehension, till the fulness of time was come, when an express promise was imparted: but that such an apprehension could originate in the observation of analogies, or the stirrings of a restless spirit, we do not believe. To revelation alone is our race indebted for the hope of immortality, as it appears to us. No such truth could, we think, have been elicited by any method of induction; though, being true, it affords so clear an explanation of all facts apparently inconsistent, of all arrangements seemingly discordant, that it is very natural to conclude that such an explanation must have suggested itself, if it had not been revealed. Dr. Crombie ascribes greater weight to these arguments than we do. We wish we could examine his reasonings on each of them, for no subject is more important to a particular class of persons; and few are more interesting. But it is impossible to go into the subject at greater length. Few, if any, persons, we would hope, under the conviction that death is at hand, capable of reviewing the course of their lives, and of estimating the nature and compass of their powers, seriously believe that a future existence is impossible or improbable. The difference (to be accounted for as well as lamented) is between the involuntary, vacillating comparison of probabilities of the Sceptic; the obscure though stable convictions of the Deist; and the full, definite, and animating expectation of the

Christian. The Atheist may consign himself to annihilation; the Sceptic may jest about Styx and its ferryman, or may anxiously stretch his gaze into the obscure regions whose hues and forms may prove as unreal as the dreams which precede the insensibility of sleep; the Deist may await with the composure of hope and trust the revelation of a scene of whose reality he is assured; but to the Christian that revelation is begun: its "visioned glories half appear;" and whatever may be his condition there, that such a world is opening upon him, he can no more doubt than that his mortal existence is drawing to a close. The convictions of the Christian and the Deist appear to be based on a revelation; those of the Atheist and Sceptic to be held in defiance of it; and the natural arguments for a future state seem to have no influence in lessening the differences of the opposing systems.

It surprises us to perceive the frequent reference made by our author to instinctive principles. He has shown himself so acute in detecting those errors in philosophy which arise from the tendency to multiply principles, that we wonder when we find him ascribing the belief of the connexion between cause and effect, the exercise of benevolence, the love of life, conscience, resentment, gratitude, and other passions and affections, to so many instinctive principles. It appears that he confounds instinctive with what are commonly called natural principles; those which are inherent at birth, with those which are afterwards formed in every mind by influences which act universally. While the happiness of life universally preponderates over its miseries, the love of life will be universal: and if, in any particular case, its miseries preponderate, the love of life will give way to the desire of death. If it were not so, we must deny the sanity of every suicide, from the noble Roman to the degraded Hindoo widow. From a review of

the moral influences to which the whole human race is subjected, it might be anticipated that a strong general resemblance, accompanied with minor differences, would subsist in the operation of conscience in nations and individuals; which we find to be the fact: whereas, if the principle were instinctive, no such differences could exist. The author expresses himself with some indignation against those who teach that benevolence grows out of selfishness, and is the result of early association, originating in the nursery or the school-room. We hope we are not "ever anxious to degrade the character of man," yet we avow such to be our belief; and, in the whole economy of Providence, there is no process which more powerfully excites our admiration and gratitude than that by which the selfish principle is made subservient to the growth of benevolence. It is a beautiful spectacle to watch the expansion of the affections in the mind of a child; to see how, by pleasureable association, his interests are gradually transferred from himself to others; how, having once felt pleasure and pain for his parents and companions, the association strengthens, till a desire of the good of others renders him unmindful of his own feelings; how, self-denial being once exercised, the exercise becomes more easy and frequent till it is itself the source of as much pleasure to the individual as his benevolence can confer on others; and how the sum of human happiness is thus indefinitely increased, and man is prepared for that state where nothing that defileth can enter. If he were born with an instinctive principle of benevolence, he would be, at his birth, as fit for the highest enjoyments of a better world as when his course of discipline was finished; or we must suppose, with our author, that opposite instincts are implanted, which are to carry on a warfare till one or the other is annihilated. He calls resentment an instinct: but have we any reason, from

every mind; but while instances may be pointed out, (and such exist, though happily they are rare,) of utter indifference to the suffering of others, of entire ignorance of the distinction between virtue and vice, it is clear that moral sentiments are not instinctive. — In p. 347 of Vol. I., we find the proposition, "All men are mortal," adduced as an example of an intuitive truth. This is an oversight, which only needs to be noticed to be corrected.

It would be much less easy to point out the numerous excellencies of the work before us than it has been to notice its few apparent defects. It contains a valuable body of facts applied to the establishment of a doctrine of the utmost importance. Its reasonings are, for the most part, clear, though encumbered by occasional repetitions, for which, in his preface, the author begs his readers' excuse, on the plea of an earnest desire to produce a due impression.

The time will arrive, we are persuaded, when inquiries of the nature of those before us will become more popular than they have ever been. The notion of their being surrounded by peculiar mystery, and attended by peculiar danger, is wearing out. The authority of Milton has, in this case, as in some others, been regarded with too much deference; and while orthodoxy and piety have been maintained in conjunction in the cottage, because Paradise Lost and the Bible lay together on the shelf, many wise heads have been shaken in the drawing-room, the library, and the college, at the mention of

> "Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
> Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute;"

and many an allusion to the diabolic nature of such inquiries has alarmed and perplexed the young reasoner. A little further research proves, however, that it is only through indolence, impatience, or some peculiar infirmity, that either devils or men can "find no end, in wandering

mazes lost." It may, perhaps, be at length allowed, that it is as unreasonable to deny the existence of eleven planets because Milton speaks of "five other wandering fires" besides the moon, as to conclude that any objects of discussion are forbidden because any man suggests by implication that they are so; even if that man be Milton. Every good is liable to abuse; and the most valuable instruments are precisely those which may effect the most injury, if improperly handled; but if presented for our use, our part is to apply them carefully, and not to shrink from touching them. The real dangers which attend metaphysical inquiries are the same which attend all other inquiries, and which are wholly unconnected with the subjects of inquiry. They arise from our prejudices, our ignorance, our weakness, our presumptuous confidence, our debasing fears; and they can no more be annihilated by depriving them of one mode of indicating their existence, than indiscretion can be cured by cutting out the tongue, or internal inflammation relieved by cooling the hands. A world of truth is before us. We cannot help desiring to explore it; and we know of no interdiction which need exclude us from any part of it. We ought, therefore, to disregard the mistaken advice and impotent threats which would deter us, and press forward to the limits of science, determined to ascertain for ourselves where we must stop, and to heed no prohibition but that of Nature, or of Him who constituted Nature.

"Nature," says Dr. T. Brown, "has not abandoned us, with principles which we must fear to examine, and with truths and illusions which we must never dare to separate. In teaching us what our powers are incapable of attaining, she has, at the same time, taught us what truths they may attain; and within this boundary we have the satisfaction of knowing that she has placed all the truths that are important for our virtue and happiness. He, whose eyes are clearest to

discern the bounding circle, cannot, surely, be the dullest to perceive the truths that are within. The study of the power and limits of the understanding, and of the sources of evidence in external nature and ourselves, instead of either forming or favoring a tendency to scepticism, is the surest, or rather the only, mode of removing the danger of such a tendency. That mind may soon doubt even of the most important truths, which has never learned to distinguish the doubtful from the true. But to know well the irresistible evidence on which truth is founded, is to believe in it, and to believe in it for ever."

ON NATURE AND PROVIDENCE TO COMMUNITIES.*

Two Essays have been added to the three published some time ago under the title of "Essays on the Lives of Cowper, Newton, and Heber; or, an Examination of the Evidence of the Course of Nature being interrupted by the Divine Government." We notice them as a whole, not only because we have hitherto been silent on the first publication, but because the five essays have a close connexion with each other, forming the component parts of a fine treatise on the doctrine of an Interruptive Providence.

The three first parts of this treatise contain the inferences from facts respecting the tendency of this popular doctrine; and the two last, — on Human Corruption and Divine Grace, and on Nature and Providence, — proceed to apply the principles thus obtained to a more extensive class of facts. The issue is a logical triumph over a wide-wasting superstition; and, since Providence gave us our logic as well as our grace,

* Essay on Nature and Providence to Communities. 8vo. pp. 79.

we conceive that no adversary can gainsay the result without first confuting the logic.

No three men ever lived more according to their opinions than those whose names stand in the title. No one will deny their being fair representatives of the different classes to which they belonged, whatever name is given to each class. Whether the first be called by different parties, the evangelical or the superstitious, the same class is meant, and Cowper is its representative. Whether the second be called the elect or the enthusiastic, the same class is meant, and Newton is its representative. Whether the the third be called the lukewarm or the religious, the same class is meant, and Heber is its representative. What were these men? The first, with all his gifts and all his graces, was the most abject of spiritual slaves. The second, with all his Christianity, was the most despotic of spiritual tyrants. The third, with all his orthodox entanglements, was free, and tried to make others free, with a glorious liberty. And whence this difference, while the faith of the three was, according to the letter, the same? The two first were practical believers in an Interruptive Providence; the third was not.

The evil tendency of such a belief being established by a chain of evidence as interesting as it is complete, it is applied to the explanation of some of the ills under which man is groaning, — the spiritual sufferings and consequent moral perversion of individuals, and the political evils and consequent moral hinderances of society. This last method of testing principles assumed to be religious, — by applying them largely to the state of society, — has not been used so extensively as it deserves. In the work before us, it is done with admirable success. Mr. Sadler may be ineffably scandalized at the ridicule cast upon his favorite principle of "a self-adjusting, sacred equipoise, by which Nature proportions her numbers to her means of sustentation;" but those to whom

our author addresses himself, — "men of a clear judgment, of feelings and imaginations under their own control, and too fearful of error not to be bold in the cause of truth," — will fully agree with him in the principle which it is the aim of his book to establish, — that Providence governs man by giving him unvarying principles, natural and moral, whose operation he must modify himself.

To perceive this is the best wisdom, to act upon it is the highest glory of a human being; and though but few minds have discerned this truth otherwise than faintly, and still fewer have acted upon it otherwise than fitfully and indolently, yet through it alone has there been happiness in the world. We are ready enough to allow this in whatever relates to the external world, while we hesitate to admit its uniform operation in the world within.

We admit, because we cannot help it, that the whole duty of man as regards his outward condition is to modify the operations of unchanging principles. When we grow our corn, we modify, as it suits our purpose, the influences of principles which we cannot touch, — those by which roots strike down, and sap rises, and affinities act, so as to produce now a verdant leaf and a juicy stem, and then a hard and golden grain. When we erect our dwellings, we bring various forces to bear upon one another, and obtain our purpose through their counteraction. We avail ourselves of gravitation when we lay the foundation, and of cohesion when we plaster the walls, and of combustion when we kindle our fires, and of radiation when we light our candles, and of far more principles of light and colors than the ancient world dreamed of, when we dispose our curtains and carpets and pictures and chandeliers so as to please the eye. When we cure diseases, we expose certain substances to the operation of certain principles, and either obtain the wished-for result without reaching the principles themselves, or fail through

ignorance of some intervening influence. In proportion to our knowledge of principles is the accuracy of our calculations, and the variety of achievements of which we become capable: that is, in proportion to our physical knowledge is the improvement of our temporal state. But it is clear that we can have no *knowledge*, and can form no calculations, and can therefore make no steady progress, unless there be immutability in the principles on which we depend. If gravitation acts to-day and not to-morrow, there will be poor encouragement to build a house. If the principles of vegetation sometimes work, and are sometimes suspended for two or three seasons together, the husbandman may till his field for the sake of taking his chance of the corn coming up, but he will lose all the heartiness of assured hope. If the crew of a merchant vessel which sails for America find at last that the compass has (for however wise a purpose) varied so as to guide them to India, they may possibly see such a destination to be best for them in the present instance, but they will be slow to trust their compass again. There may be one case in which this immutability may apparently give way without producing injury. If it be intimated by the Power which institutes the principles that, at a particular period, for a particular purpose, and by means of a particular set of persons, bearing credentials which cannot be mistaken, so unusual a modification shall take place that it shall appear as if the principles themselves were changed, such a phenomenon need not shake man's confidence in the constitution of nature. Warning being given, and the power of causing change being confined to those who bear indisputable credentials, the world may go on as if nothing had happened, except in as far as it has become wiser respecting the origin of all principles, and enlightened respecting the power by which they are ordained and conducted. Ordinary men will not, any more than before, attempt to walk the waves, or to heal dis-

eases by a word, or to make the dead sit up and speak by touching the bier, while they may discern more clearly than before by whose command the deeps open a path to the industry of man, through whose permission sickness vanishes before the skill of man, and by whose will the principle of life is withdrawn, to act more vigorously in some other region.

The intimate connexion between the physical and the moral state of man, the blending of the finer shades of natural and moral good and evil, afford a strong presumption that a process precisely analogous to that of the natural is appointed to the spiritual man. And such a presumption is borne out by facts to a degree of certainty which no reasoning mind can resist. There is only one point of difference,—that the laws of the spirit have been absolutely unvaried in their operation. There has not even been one guarded and express exception, as Christians hold there once was in the outward world.

"What! not in that very case? Not in the very men who held the credentials?"—No. Their means of illumination were special, and therefore their light was singular in their day: but the means being once furnished, the rest of the process was natural, though rapid. There is no reason to doubt that Christ himself *grew* in grace, however that growth might be fostered by unusual influences to rapid and absolute perfection. The apostles were gradually initiated into the wisdom, and trained to the holiness, which they attained, and surpassed their countrymen only precisely in proportion to the superiority of their natural means. Paul, the object of a stupendous miracle, was withdrawn, to undergo an education of years, before he was fitted to execute his commission; and we all know how long afterwards it was that he described himself as still reaching forwards, still conscious that he had not fully attained. There is no instance on record of a moral

miracle; inspiration itself being the natural result of a physical miracle. — What follows? That to suppose a natural miracle, out of the kingdom of Christ, — that is, after the destruction of the Jewish polity, after the credentials were withdrawn, — is to err against reason and fact; and to suppose any moral miracle at all is to create a phantom of the imagination.

Man's business, then, is to discover the principles which operate upon the spirit, and so to submit his spirit to them as best to attain the ends of his being. If he has a clear discernment of these ends, and a strong reliance on the stability of the means, together with a due sagacity in their use, he is on the direct road to perfection. Such, with a fair allowance for error and frailty, was Heber. If there be a partial discernment of the ends, and a disbelief in the stability of the means, the result will vary according to the temperament and position of the disciple; it may be enthusiasm, as in Newton; or despondency, as in Cowper; or recklessness, as in the thousand reprobates who perish through the prevalence of superstition in a Christian land.

The commonest and loudest objection to this doctrine is that it generates and fosters pride, inasmuch as it makes a man's improvement depend on his own exertions, and his achievements the results of his own efforts. But what has man that he can call *his own?* God not only instituted all the principles on and by which man works, — He also gives the sagacity to discern, and the impulse to act. He disposes the circumstances, he moulds the will, he confers the power, he offers the result. It is all of him, and through him, and to him. It is all the fruit of his grace; only, instead of being an exclusive, arbitrary, unaccountable gift of favor to a few, it is an inheritance of boundless wealth and extent, offered to every one that breathes God's air, and rejoices in his sunshine.

This attainment is called man's own only in the same sense that his food and raiment are called his own. They are the gift of God in every way, — in the constitution and adaptation of the materials and their powers, and of the agent and his powers. When the laborer is accused of pride for calling the crust of bread he eats his own; when the savage is reproved for his impiety in calling his wigwam his own work, the same objection may with equal truth be urged against those whose struggle to attain is animated by their faith in an undeviating Providence.

It is well that the rulers of nations do not act upon the belief of an Interruptive Providence. However much we may wish to trace in their measures those Christian principles for which we as yet look almost in vain, we had rather by far that they should govern, as at present, alternately on impulses of expediency and on ill-discerned and ill-digested principles, whose main scope is good, than on dogmas whose practical influence, so applied, would be dangerous in the extreme. Though our nation has been now and then guilty of the impiety of ascribing an unjust victory to Divine interposition; though we have formerly expected to recover some forfeited advantages of war by propitiating God with fastings and penitential confessions; though, even now, we have one political adviser at least who commands the impoverished to increase and multiply their starving population, in the expectation that God will, by some means or other, furnish food where he has permitted life, we have fortunately escaped a course of policy founded on such erroneous principles. Though our legislators have not been careful enough to ascertain what are the moral laws which their civil law is to embody, they have happily acted on the belief that there is an invariable provision of principles on which the practice of nations, as well as individuals, must be based. However careless they may have been in encouraging, by some of their institu-

tions, the increase of population beyond the means of subsistence, they do not, for the most part, stand up, like Mr. Sadler, to inculcate and defend such a policy on the plea of the appointment of Providence. Though they have erred in the construction and administration of our national law, they do not advocate its unaltered continuance on the plea that Providence allowed it to be thus formed and administered, and that all must therefore be right. Though our statesmen have, from age to age, been all too ready for war, they have now ceased to represent it as a providential scourge, which men have only to lie under, and bear as patiently as they can. The connexion of cause and effect, though not traced to nearly its full extent, is admitted as far as it is thought of at all by the rulers of nations. We should have fared much better if our governments had been as religious as Heber; but much worse if they had been as superstitious as Newton or Mr. Sadler.

So much for what is past and cannot be recalled. Now for what our eloquent author says of present duty.

"To expect the course of nature to be interrupted, sensibly or insensibly, in the affairs of nations or individuals, is to confound the dispensations of ordinary Providence with the dispensations which a peculiar people, and for a special object, is recorded to have enjoyed. The more attentively we observe the progress of nations to prosperity and their relapse to decay, the more convinced shall we become that events occur according to a fixed connexion of cause and effect; that fixed connexion by which virtue and vice, prudence and imprudence, receive their natural reward and punishment. Man's free agency consists in the power which he possesses to discover and to avail himself of this connexion. And the existence of an over-ruling, or rather of a ruling Providence, (for the term over-ruling is often misunderstood to imply interruptions of the course of nature,) is evidenced by the natural order of events, even unaided by human wisdom,

carrying the designs of Providence so far into effect, that farther and more important objects become indicated, and the means of attaining them discovered. And when men avail themselves of these, they are but the intelligent instruments of Providence; they are his ministers which do his pleasure. But it is of the first importance to be convinced (in opposition to Mr. Sadler's conclusion) that Nature never accomplishes the entire, or even the greater part of the objects of Providence; but, having indicated the objects, and disclosed the means of attaining them, leaves it to the free will of man to profit by or neglect this knowledge. And it is only second in importance to this truth, to observe, (in contradiction to Mr. Croly's interpretation of the Apocalypse,) that Providence will not in our times accomplish its objects by interrupting the course of Nature. Οὔτε φύσει, οὔτε παρὰ φύσιν, neither *by* the the course, nor *against* the course, of Nature, is the rule of ordinary Providence. The cessation of war, the adjustment of population, the distribution of justice, and the diffusion of knowledge, — in a word, the perfecting of all blessings, are yielded to human efforts, and are yielded to these only."

"Human happiness is the temple of God's glory. As knowledge is extended and civilization advances, the general design and the several proportions of this temple become more evident. We observe that its roof cannot be supported by creatures of superstition: its aisles ought not to be dishonored by effigies of cruel persecutors; its sanctuary must not be crowded with ascetic and fanatic idols. As the true proportions of that temple become more evident, it is perceived that the full completion of that 'building not raised by hands' is not yet effected. Shall we say, then, that the rules of this vast and noble architecture must be sought in religion, as exhibited in a sound and scriptural theology; and in reason, as contemplated in demonstrative and practical science? — that the materials are the capabilities of moral and physical nature? — that the workmen are the wisdom and energy of man? — and that the work is human happiness — the temple of God's glory? Or must we expect some overwhelming

and wide-spreading evil to rouse us from our lethargy — to remind us of the period of the world's age, and the infancy of many of its institutions — to startle us out of our recklessness into a sense of the true elements of happiness — and to bid us remember that, if our progress in the physical sciences prevent the ravages of individual disease and public pestilence, of barbarous irruptions and wasting famines, there is the more need that we be protected from moral evils." — p. 281 – 284. (Of separate edition, p. 51 – 54.)

"But if the objects of Providence be more and more attained; (if, indeed, the miseries of war can be arrested by civilization becoming watchful over her blessings; if the wretchedness of excess of population can be gradually removed by the adjustment of numbers to "the means of sustentation;" if the grievances of the law's injustice can be made to give way to more perfect institutions; if the gratifications of intellectual cultivation and the fruits of knowledge can be extended, so that the enjoyments of imagination and memory and reason may unrol their page to the poor man's hour of rest;) — supposing these objects to be not only possible, but looking forward to the time when they actually shall have been attained by human wisdom and energy, there yet remains a duty which it will be not only ungrateful but dangerous to neglect. For, when men shall have at length loved mercy and sought justice, it yet remains that they walk humbly with their God; — that they feel that still they have nothing but what they have received; — that it is His kingdom, not their kingdom, which is come; — that it is His will, not their will, that has been done." — p. 288 – (58.)

It may be said that all this is, after all, only the alphabet of morals, — only a new rendering of the old fable of the waggoner and Jove. It may be so; but have we out-grown the moral; and may not an old truth be extended and newly applied? We refer our readers to the work before us for proof that such teaching is not out of date, and that the learning and the eloquence of a minister of the gospel may

be well employed on the same theme as once exercised the ingenuity of a heathen fabulist. Our author has availed himself of his own and his readers' classical predilections to illustrate, in the appendix, the truths of his treatise in the form of a dialogue of Lucian. There is much use in diversified presentations of the same truth to minds variously prepossessed. By this consideration we are tempted to put the argument under still another aspect, for the sake of those who may have connected the popular scandal of atheism or profaneness with the name of the philosopher of Samosata.

DIALOGUE, AT THE GATE OF A HEBREW CITY, A. D. 50.

Samaritan. — Alas! for the city of our habitation, for sore is the affliction Jehovah hath dealt unto her. The poor crieth for justice, and is scorned. The rich glory in their oppression, and no one gainsayeth them.

Sadducee. — I marvel that thou shouldst persist to call on one who regardeth not. Speakest thou of a just and merciful Ruler while such things come to pass on the earth? — If there had been such an one, there had been no need of judgment, for there had been no injury: there could have been no glorying in oppression, for into no man's hand would the power of oppressing be given. Where would be the thunder, if no hurtful vapors were gathered together? Or how should the valleys be overflowed, if the streams of the hills were restrained within their channels? There is none to guide, or overlook, or avenge. Let us, therefore, make our hearts merry, knowing that we cannot help that which is, nor foresee that which shall be.

Pharisee. — Nay; but it is for the guilt of our people that Jehovah smiteth: and if he shall stay our desolation, it will be for the sake of the ten righteous (of whom his

grace hath made me one) whom he hath redeemed from his wrath. Blessed be his name for his wondrous works towards us his chosen ones!

Samaritan. — Blessed art thou in the light of his countenance! Intercede for us that our plagues may pass away; for they are heavier than we can bear.

Pharisee. — Rather let his righteous will be done; for it is such as thou that have drawn down his wrath upon our city. Yet will I intercede, forasmuch as I was once as thou. From what wouldst thou be delivered?

Samaritan. — From the iniquity of our rulers, and the disputes of them that contest one with another before the judgment-seat. From the plague of war also we would pray to be freed, but that our fields are small, and the harvest scanty, so that the people are more than can be fed. — If we escape from one snare, we fall into another; and thus Jehovah willeth the destruction of his people.

Pharisee. — I will entreat him that he stretch forth his hand, and save other than the few whom he hath brought nigh unto his footstool. — But whence is the smile on the lips of the stranger who hath overheard our discourse? These Nazarenes account themselves wise. Let us hear how he regardeth the calamity of our city.

Stranger. — Ye two believe that there is a God. Others also have rightly believed this; and, less hardy than thou, O Sadducee, they trembled!

I was nigh thee, O Pharisee, in the synagogue, when a poor man entered whose garments were worn with travel, and soiled with the dust of the way. He bore also no purse, and his scrip was empty. Him thou didst appoint to sit beneath thy feet. — In a while, came one in a purple robe, with a jewelled signet at his breast, and a goodly staff in his hand. Him thou didst rise up to greet, and place in the seat of honor. If thou, who holdest thyself taught of

Jehovah concerning his will, thus showest partiality, marvel not that the judges do likewise. Pray for justice, if thou wilt: but see that thine own way is equal, and then shall the ways of Jehovah be seen to be equal also.

For thee, O Samaritan, I have mourned that thy faith is gone from thee.

Samaritan. — Gone from me! and even now I besought the prayers of this Pharisee. Yea, five times daily, also, do I pray myself (unworthy as I am!) that our woes may cease.

Stranger. — Thy faith is naught, if it lead thee only to prayer. If thou sittest mourning till destruction carry thee away as a flood, shall such a faith save thee? Your woes come by your works, and shall not your redemption come by your works also? Whence come your wars in the field, and your contests within your borders, but from your own fierce passions and evil desires? and how shall they be assuaged unless ye cleanse your hands and purify your hearts?

Samaritan. — But if we make peace, then famine will arise; for our people are more than can be fed. We ask food and receive not.

Stranger. — Ye ask and receive not, because ye ask amiss. As well might ye expect the cold and hungry to receive, because ye say, "be ye warmed, and be ye filled," as because ye only pray. Jehovah fed our fathers in the wilderness with manna rained down from heaven: but he hath long given us fields to till, and bid us rejoice in the harvest.

Samaritan. — But the harvest is not enough. When all is consumed, our children still cry for bread. He who bade us increase and multiply giveth not food in proportion to the increase.

Stranger. — Nay: not to you said he "increase and multiply," but to a little flock when all the earth was before

them. Tell me, — are not the days at hand of which he spake, who was of my kindred in the flesh, but my Master in the things of the spirit? Are not the days nigh when there shall be woe to the daughters of Jerusalem who bear their young whither they go, and when the barren shall be more blessed than she that hath borne seven? Why discern ye not better the times and the seasons?

Samaritan. — The husbandman hath waited patiently for the early and the latter rain. Shall not we also wait patiently to know the will of the Lord?

Stranger. — Wait upon Jehovah; but do also the work of Jehovah, under the laws which he hath given, and moved thereunto by thy faith.

Hearken! I was with the Prophet when he met one carried out to burial, and raised him up, so that he hath gone to and fro among us since. Let not thy faith be as the young man of Nain when he was indeed fair to look upon, but cold and still, and tending to decay. Let it rather be as the living man who glorifieth God, and showeth loving-kindness unto man. For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.

PRISON DISCIPLINE.*

While, as a nation, we are setting to work in earnest to prepare for ourselves institutions which will, in all probability, lessen the amount of crime within our borders, the greater number of us are little aware how barbarous are those

* The Eighth Report of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline. 1832.

Punishment of Death. A Series of short Articles, &c. 1832.

of our regulations which relate to the custody and punishment of criminals. Our ignorance is not the less because we venerate the names of Howard and of Romilly. If this had been enough, their philanthropic successors would not now have had to deplore that the work begun by them has made little progress, in comparison with the time which has elapsed since they set it on foot; and that our treatment of the sinning part of our population is as largely compounded of folly and cruelty, as if our Christianity were no more than a name, and our civilization a false and conceited assumption. As a nation, we have not even arrived at the principle of punishment; we are blind to its objects, and therefore erring in the use of its means. The lowest classes among us look upon punishment as sheer cruelty, inflicted by those who have power, for some unknown purpose of gratification or advantage. Those a little above them regard punishment as vengeance; others, as something connected with crime by an unknown moral necessity; others, more enlightened, see in it a benevolent purpose of preventing more evil by the infliction of less. Few, very few, question whether any right exists to inflict punishment at all, except in as far as punishment is involved in the regulations by which the orderly part of society is secured from aggression. Of all these, the lower classes know most of the facts of the treatment of our criminals; and all that they know is so corroborative of their notions of punishment being either gratuitous cruelty or vengeance, that we must not expect them to improve their conceptions till we have amended our management. In order to bring about this amendment, the comparatively enlightened classes must be more fully informed than they are of the actual state of our criminal policy; and such of them as are practised in tracing institutions to their principles must be loudly called upon to apply their philosophy where it has never yet been applied by more than a few individuals, who,

groaning in spirit, have taken upon themselves as much as individuals might bear of the responsibilities of a nation. It is not enough to carry on Howard's department of the work, or even to perpetuate the labors of Romilly; for, like all other moral labors, this grows upon the hands. It is not enough (though, alas! it is still much wanted) to go into our prisons, and see that the inmates have air, and light, and food, and water. It is not enough, though it is much, to see that they are not confined month after month, year after year, before there is so much as an attempt to prove a charge against them. It is not enough, though it is much, to strive to free our penal code from the barbarities and absurdities of former ages. Further than this, it ought to be, it must be, ascertained what constitutes crime in the present age; how society may be best guarded from its aggressions; and whether that kind of punishment which consists in the arbitrary infliction of suffering serves the purpose of security, or any other purpose; and whether, therefore, such infliction is authorized.

It is clearly the duty of a government to protect its subjects from the aggressions of crime; and, in consequence, to seclude, or otherwise render powerless, its criminal members. This appears to us to be the limit of its authority, in the first instance. This should be the object, not only in the process of arrest and custody previous to trial, but after conviction. We cannot discern whence is given the power to inflict arbitrary suffering in the case of guilt, more than in any other case. A just direction of natural consequences answers all the good purposes ever contemplated in the institution of arbitrary punishments, and refers the responsibility whither it ought to rest, — on that Providence which has ordained misery to be the natural consequence of guilt. A man breaks into his neighbour's dwelling to steal his goods: we punish him with death. This certainly secures society from his

future trespasses; but it does much more, — much more, that we can perceive no warrant for our doing. It destroys a life which we recognise no commission to take; and which, for aught we know, might be made useful to the community and happy to the individual: it perplexes the notions of moral cause and effect, right and wrong, duty and Providence, in the minds of multitudes; and excites tumults of angry passions: thus demoralizing instead of warning, and tending to the propagation instead of the repression of evil. How different are the effects of punishment by natural consequence!

The man has done his neighbour wrong, and must therefore be secluded, that he may not again do an injury. This is the reason of his imprisonment, which is longer or shorter, in proportion to the apparent probabilities of his repeating the offence, — that is, to the aggravation of the circumstances and to the offender's known character. In prison, he must not be a burden to the community, and must work, not only for his bread, but for the expenses which he has caused to be incurred in secluding him. This is the reason of his being condemned to hard labor. If, in his seclusion, he attempts further injury to those yet within his reach, a closer confinement is ordered for the same purpose as the first. Hence solitary confinement, and, if ever necessary, fetters. The other regulations of his prison arise, some out of the position in which the culprit has placed himself, and not out of the will of his judges and jailers; and others out of their responsibility for his benefit, that he shall re-enter the world no worse, as far as in them lies, than when he quitted it. Hence arise the circumstances of his abode, his employments, his recreations, — in short, the routine of his prison-life. Is not this what is wanted for the security of society? Is not this still punishment, — most irksome punishment to the offender, while it allows him to feel himself, not the victim of

tyranny, but the ward of justice? Is not this the discipline to satisfy instead of revolting the injured, to obviate the oppressions of the agents of the law, to educate the moral sense of the community, while it answers all the proposed objects of an arbitrary penal system? Is it not easy to be understood in its purpose and in its workings? — far more easy than the inexplicable and empirical method, — if method it may be called, — according to which justice is at present administered?

That human governments will in time bring their penal rule into an analogy with the divine, we cannot doubt. The divine government ordained arbitrary punishments in the infancy of the peculiar people, and afterwards withdrew its ordinances, when they became capable of recognising and anticipating natural consequences; and thus ought it to be with human governments. In barbarous ages and countries, crimes are little less arbitrary than punishments; as in Russia, not very long ago, the wearing of shoe-strings was punishable with imprisonment, and in India the killing of a cow, with death. In proportion as States approximate to a right application of the eternal principles of morals, should their penal government approximate to the divine rule of natural consequence; for which precisely the same reasons exist as that a parent should lay aside the rod and the holiday-treat when his child grows up into the youth.

It is a difficult task to arrange the penal government of a nation like ours in its present state, combining as it does the wisdom of manhood and the lowest ignorance and folly of infancy, — much of the refinement of advanced civilization, and some of the brutalization of a savage state. It is difficult to provide punishments which it does not shock the consciences and sensibilities of the injured to inflict, and which may at the same time be prospectively dreadful to the aggressor. This difficulty, great at the best, we aggravate to the

utmost, — first, by not procuring the universal education of the people, and next, by making the worst of such regulations as we have; administering our punishments capriciously, and enhancing their mischiefs by bad modes of infliction. Two great works, then, have to be achieved, in preparation for the enlightened penal system of which our philosophers and philanthropists descry a glimpse in a coming age: — the nation must be educated into a state of moral discernment: and, while this is doing, our present penal institutions must be purified from the executive abuses which render them ten times more cruel and pernicious than the most barbarous of their originators intended, or than there is any occasion for them to be made.

We quote some remarks from the Report before us, on the first of the two objects we have specified: —

'The distressed condition of juvenile offenders on their discharge from prison has continued to occupy the attention of the Committee, and they have afforded such relief to these necessitous objects as the very limited state of the funds would allow. The prevalence of crime among the youth of the lower orders is well known to be alarmingly great. On the causes which contribute to this evil, the Committee have fully enlarged in their former Reports. Whatever operates to the production of indigence among the adult poor, has, of course, a most unfavorable effect on the moral condition of their families; and the juvenile depravity, which now unhappily prevails, derives its origin and strength from circumstances too deeply rooted in the present state of society to be materially diminished by any plans, however wise, for the mere punishment of the offender. The diffusion of education is, in every point of view, the most efficacious remedy for the prevention of crime. By education is meant, not merely instruction in the elementary arts of reading and writing, but a course of moral training which shall impart religious impressions, control the passions, and amend the heart. In their previous Reports, the Committee have enlarged on the

benefits which the establishment of Infant Schools is calculated to impart to the most indigent classes, and especially in those crowded parts of the metropolis where a single room often contains several families. Beset on every side by the most profligate associations, breathing a moral atmosphere the most corrupt, no benefits can be conceived more precious than those which are presented by these Institutions; and it is therefore to be regretted that, notwithstanding their obvious importance, they should not have become universally established. In regard to the education of the poor generally, it must be acknowledged that the experience of the last thirty years has proved the inefficiency of the exertions made for this purpose, as well by public associations as by private individuals. In the metropolis and populous towns throughout the kingdom, the want of education is severely felt, while in the agricultural districts a large proportion of the working classes are in a state of profound ignorance and great moral debasement. But a slight consideration of the subject will show that the moral and religious education of the people is an object too vast in its importance to the well-being of the State, to be left to the voluntary exertions of benevolent individuals and charitable associations. An Education Act, framed on broad and liberal principles, and securing the concurrence of all sects and parties, would be one of the greatest blessings which the legislature could confer; and it is earnestly hoped that the period has at length arrived when a national measure of this high character will provide for every child throughout the kingdom an education comprising the elements of useful knowledge, and based on the solid foundation of Christian principles." — p. 85 – 87.

Our business, then, is to favor infant and other schools to the utmost, and to go on thanking government for the Irish School Bill, and reminding it that we want more, till general education becomes the law of our English land. Then there will be, among an incalculable number of other advantages, a wide opening for an improvement in our penal government.

The second great object, that of rendering our penal institutions no worse than they need be, is that which the Prison Discipline Society espouses.

None of the objects, with a view to which imprisonment should be conducted, can possibly be answered by the methods which prevailed before the Society began its exertions, and which have not yet given place sufficiently to the better system of discipline which they have partially introduced, and are striving to make general. Those objects are,

1st. The security of the community.

2d. The reformation of the offender.

3d. — (a subordinate, though still important object) — That the resources of the community should not be uselessly consumed by its criminals.

The security of a community is little promoted by a system which lodges a man in prison a debtor, and brings him out a ruffian; which imprisons him erring, and discharges him depraved; or turns a merely suspected man into a guilty one. Of the 120,000 prisoners yearly contained within the jails of the United Kingdom, a very large number must have gone in, in a moral condition less threatening to society than that of many whom they were about to join. Thousands of them were only debtors, thousands were young, many guilty of a first offence only, many innocent. For the short protection afforded to society by the temporary confinement of these 120,000, how dearly must it pay on their return to it! Some of its foes are removed by the gallows, others are sent abroad to spread the contagion of their vices elsewhere; but in compensation of this riddance, the debtors come out ready to steal as well as defraud; the young educated to crime; the once over-tempted now hardened; the innocent corrupted. Thus is moral evil propagated by the very mode adopted to con-

fine it, and society injured by the means ordained for its protection. The remedy must be found in classification, in restriction of intercourse, in keeping our prisons as clear as possible of offenders whose misdeeds are not of so bad a character as to render their seclusion necessary to the peace of the community, and in shortening, as much as possible, the period of imprisonment previous to trial.

"In respect to classification," observes the Report, "the prison-act directs that in every county jail or house of correction, the prisoners shall be divided into ten classes; and where these prisons are united together, twelve classes are required:" it is further enacted that "such further means of classification shall be adopted as the justices shall deem conducive to good order and discipline." "It appears, however, from the jail returns, that upwards of forty prisons have not even the lowest scale of classification required by law; and that there are only twenty-two united county prisons in which the *minimum* is exceeded. Wherever the numbers are large, a further division of classes in respect to age, character, and degrees of crime, is indispensable, in order to promote individual reformation, and prevent the mischievous effects of contamination." — p. 23. There is much to be done then in rectifying the execution of the law while waiting for the amendment of the penal code.

The difficulties in the way of classification are much increased by the crowded state of too many of our jails, — an evil not wholly arising from the increase of crime, but from an increased disposition in the magistracy to avoid the responsibility of bailing offenders who are brought before them; so that stealers of hedge-stakes and boys guilty of street-rows are shut up in a school of corruption for weeks, instead of awaiting, under better influences, the punishment of their offences. It should be remembered

that every committal to jail is a misfortune to the community as well as to the culprit, and therefore a deed not to be needlessly done. "There cannot be a question," says the Report, "that the number of untried prisoners — the most unmanageable class — might, by the general acceptance of bail, be reduced to one-half, or even a third, with no injury to the community, with great benefit to the individual, and with material advantage to the discipline of prisons. The large proportion which the number of persons discharged by grand juries, and of those acquitted, bears to the whole number committed, affords strong presumptive evidence of the unsoundness of the present system." And this, though much greater license of bailing is allowed by law than formerly.

An analogous evil is the infrequency of jail-deliveries. Something has of late been done, and more is, we trust, in the way to be done towards rectifying the inequality of the law under which a prisoner belonging to a certain county may be kept in prison a year before trial, while the perpetrator of a similar offence in London is tried in six weeks; but, in the meanwhile, incalculable injury has been and continues to be done to the safety of society by the congregation of numbers, of whom such as are not guilty are exasperated, and therefore prepared for guilt, and all of whom are suffering gross injustice. Magna Charta was framed with a view to other results than this: it provided that justice should not be *delayed*, any more than denied or sold.

It is evident that these grievances, which affect the security of society, have an immediate bearing on the moral state of the offender. As long as they exist, the reformation of the criminal cannot be looked for. It is plain that, previous to trial, before he is subjected to any other infliction than the loss of liberty, every precaution should be taken to avoid his sustaining any kind of injury. He should have means to pursue his own employments; instruction

should be within his reach; and he should have liberty to decline society which he dislikes. None of these dues are afforded in any fair proportion to the untried inmates of our jails. After sentence, the infliction (as long as the right of infliction is recognised and acted upon) should be arranged with a view to a higher object still, — that the criminal should leave the prison a better man than he entered it. That this object may be, and therefore ought universally to be, attained under the present law, is proved by the degree of success of which the Penitentiary at Millbank has been productive, though more animating examples are before us in other directions. That which, through lapse of time, may be best depended on, is at Auburn, in the state of New York, a brief summary of the plans and results of which is found at page 7 of this Report, conveying as much valuable fact as the more copious details which may be met with elsewhere: —

"At sunrise, the convicts proceed in regular order to the several workshops, where they remain under vigilant superintendence until the hour of breakfast, when they repair to the common hall. When at their meals, the prisoners are seated at table in single rows, with their backs towards the centre, so that there can be no interchange of signs. From one end of the work-rooms to the other, upwards of five hundred convicts may be seen without a single individual being observed to turn his head towards a visitor. Not a whisper is heard throughout the apartments. At the close of day, labor is suspended, and the prisoners return in military order to their solitary cells: there they have the opportunity of reading the Scriptures, and of reflecting in silence on their past lives. The chaplain occasionally visits the cells, instructing the ignorant, and administering the reproofs and consolations of religion. The influence of these visits is described to be most beneficial; and the effect of the entire discipline is decidedly successful in the prevention of crime, both by the

dread which imprisonment inspires, as well as by the reformation of the offender. Inquiries have been instituted relative to the conduct of prisoners released from the Auburn Penitentiary — the prison at which this system has been longest observed — and of two hundred and six discharged, who have been watched over for the space of three years, one hundred and forty-six have been reclaimed, and maintained reputable characters in society."

A large proportion; — to which should be added all who, instead of being corrupted on the reëntrance of these offenders into the world, are warned by their past and encouraged by their present example.

It would seem to be the very least that the authorities of a civilized country could do, to provide against the further corruption of the criminals who are made such, in a large degree, by the vices of that country's institutions; yet, among us, not only have the authorities failed to discharge this essential part of their duty, but they have hindered or omitted to support the exertions of benevolent societies and individuals. The jails in Scotland remain unimproved, and most of the prisons attached to corporate jurisdictions are in a state so disgraceful as necessarily to corrupt all committed to them. In some of these there is no employment, no inspection, no separation of the men from the women, of murderers from truant boys, or even of the sick from the healthy. In some, the jailer does not reside. In others, irons are illegally used because the walls are tumbling down. It is a very old analogy between the disease of the body and the spirit; but it is one so complete and well-grounded, that it will bear a perpetual application. What should we think of the justice and humanity of first throwing a man into the very centre of a plague contagion; then, as soon as sick, removing him into an hospital with the ostensible purpose of relieving society and curing him-

self; then, instead of putting him into a clean separate bed, and applying proper means for his recovery, shutting him up with patients worse than himself, in heat and dirt, untended and uncared for; and, finally, turning him out into the world again, when the disease had reached its height, to spread it wherever he goes? Yet this is precisely our management of those afflicted with that kind of malady which is to the patient as much the result of natural causes as physical disease, while it is at the same time productive of worse evils, and more certainly curable. The root of this grievance lies deep, — even in the mistaken notions generally prevailing of the origin and nature of virtue and vice; but thousands who cannot reach or discern the principle of the mischief can help to ameliorate the practice. Without arguing how the criminal became a criminal, they may perceive and apply the means of curing him of his criminality: thus fulfilling the second great object which imprisonment should be made to effect.

If our nation were in the most prosperous state conceivable, it would still be an injustice to charge it with the gratuitous maintenance of even the few offenders who would then be found in its prisons; but, in the condition of difficulty and want in which our population finds itself at present, the support of 120,000 prisoners per annum is a burden which ought to be declared intolerable. If it be considered that advantages of every kind attend the enforcement of productive labor in prisons, while evils of all sorts arise in its absence, it becomes difficult to conceive how so many have been permitted to spend their months and years of captivity in idleness, — why the sentence of hard labor has been so largely evaded, — and how it is that the necessary working apparatus has not been made a part of the furniture of every prison. The objection that the labor of prisons, like work-house labor, deranges, in a certain degree,

the operation of demand and supply, and thereby injures the innocent laborer and capitalist, is of small weight in comparison with that of maintaining prisoners in idleness: moreover, it would become of less weight perpetually, were prison labor properly regulated and enforced, since the number of prisoners would decrease. Let us once, like the Auburn authorities, send out 146 reformed out of 206 committed, and the productions of our offenders' industry would shortly occupy a very small space in the market. There would result, from such an arrangement, a sensible relief to the community, — already sufficiently injured by the acts of the offender, — and a new efficiency in our penal institutions, to the great benefit both of the criminal and of society at large.

The one great thing to be borne in mind throughout the contemplation of the subject before us, — throughout the doings of the daily life of the benevolent, — is that the amelioration or renovation of our penal system lies, in some measure, between the hands of every man. Let the government be aroused to the utmost vigilance and activity, — let the Prison Discipline Society continue its virtuous labors, — let individuals visit the prisoner, and towns and cities unite to keep their magistracies up to their duty; much yet remains to be done by those who may, for reasons or excuses of their own, abstain from joining in any of these efforts to accomplish a great good. As much may be done indirectly as directly for an object which may be reached by so many ramifications as this. Injudicious charity, overgrown luxury, waste, aristocratic idleness, all cause poverty somewhere; and poverty causes crime. Commercial restrictions, unequal taxation, profuse government expenditure, all cause poverty somewhere; and poverty causes crime. Cruel, inconsistent, perplexed laws, imperfect representation, aristocratic privilege, all cause

oppression; and oppression is not only crime in the tyrant, but causes crime in the oppressed. Temporal hardship perpetuates ignorance; and ignorance causes crime. Thus it appears that every one who moves in society with more or less of influence, does something for or against the improvement in principle and practice of our penal system. Every one does something towards sending some other one to prison or helping him out, — and towards determining his condition when there. Every one is, consciously or unconsciously, enlisted with the Prison Discipline Society or against it. The alms-giver, the land-proprietor, the merchant, the manufacturer, the elector, the head of a family, school committees, charitable, literary, commercial associations of every kind, are all concerned in aiding or injuring the interests of that most pitiable, the criminal, class of society; and it is for these to look to it that they act not only with a benevolent intention, but with a wise benevolence. Whoever gives to street beggars helps to fill our prisons, and therefore to corrupt their inmates. Whoever votes for the continuance of the Corn Laws, or the East India Charter, helps to fill our prisons, though he may be a member of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. On the other hand, every man, woman, or child, who helps to uphold schools, to ascertain the true nature and workings of our institutions and customs, who encourages industry, discountenances waste, and assists intercourse between different classes of the community, does much, very much for which the advocates of the prisoner will be grateful. They, however, are the best benefactors, who unite direct with indirect efforts: who petition and petition till they obtain a partial abolition of the punishment of death; who, animated instead of satisfied by this success, go on till they shall have obtained its total abolition, and an equalization of the penal system altogether; who, meanwhile, visit the

prisons, and advocate the rights of their inmates in and out of doors: who do what in them lies to lighten the temporal burdens of the poorer classes, and above all, give them moral light, and strength to discern and pursue their best interests. Many of the best men in France are using their new liberties with a view to these objects. Germany has set about the same work with the wisdom, and is pursuing it with the vigor and perseverance, which might be expected from the usual character of her enterprises. America is still so far before all other conntries in this branch of her legislation as well as her executive, that we must long consider it a sufficient praise to be seen to follow in her steps. She is not unwilling, we believe, to have her penal system made the test of her political state. Great Britain must make haste to get rid of the shame which would arise from having a similar test applied in her case. Since we cannot allow it to be a fair one, let us frankly admit our penal system to be an anomaly; and by a diligent and perpetual renovation, bring it at length into an accordance with the best of our social institutions.

LESSING'S HUNDRED THOUGHTS.

I.

Systems of theology are as much the dread of some devout Christians, as they are the delight of others. Some hold it to be profane, others to be a matter of religious obligation, to compare and adjust the scattered facts and reasonings of Scripture by the assistance of our divinely-bestowed faculties; to reduce to a parallel truths which appear to be divergent; to bring to light hidden relations; to display the

mutual influences of the greater and lesser lights of the spiritual world. Some, in all humility, read and receive, grateful for what they can understand, submissive under difficulties, and undisturbed by apparent contradictions; while others not only believe that revelation is conducted on a plan, but that if the revelation can be understood, so may the purpose for which it was given, and the arrangement in which it is offered. The first class is, at present, incalculably the most numerous; yet there is a sufficient diversity among the system-makers and system-finders to show that Christianity is but little understood as a whole, and that the rational faculty cannot, in more than a few instances, have been efficiently directed towards this point. It is surprising that between the watchfulness against speculation of the many, and the eager curiosity of the few, the systems of foreign theologians should have attracted so little notice as has been bestowed on them in this country; and especially that the system proposed by Lessing, which is in various respects remarkable, should have failed to alarm and to interest the timid and the inquiring.

The Hundred Thoughts, in which are condensed the results of Lessing's inquiries into the scheme of revelation, were presented to the readers of the Monthly Repository in a faithful translation, so long ago as 1806. It does not appear that they attracted the attention which their originality, if not their truth, deserves; and it may therefore effect some good purpose to bring them forward again, not in the form of a reprint, which is rendered unnecessary by the reference I have made, but as the occasion of some remarks on the design and arrangement of that revelation which I examine with unhesitating confidence and surpassing interest, because I believe it to be divine. The propositions of Lessing form the ground-work of the observations which follow. My design is rather to engage the interest of the reader in an inquiry of

extraordinary importance, than to advocate propositions which, individually or collectively, must stand or fall by their own strength or weakness.

The system is grounded on the conviction that the object of the Divine Government is to secure the ultimate perfection of all mankind. The evidence in favor of this design is the same by which the attributes of Deity are ascertained; and it therefore forms no part of the present inquiry, which relates solely to the means used to secure this object. The rational faculty is the appointed instrument of human perfection. It is the endowment by which the race is distinguished from all inferior orders of beings; the sole faculty to which all events bear a relation, to which all circumstances are subservient, through which the dispensations of Providence are rendered important, by which Providence itself is recognised. The cultivation of this faculty is therefore the chief object of the Divine care; the improvement of this endowment the most blessed effect of the Divine benignity.

In the constitution of nature, as its laws are ordinarily administered, provision is made for the gradual development of reason in individuals; and through them, in successive generations. As no two individuals are exposed to the operation of precisely similar influences, the improvement of individual minds is the sole means of the advancement of the race, according to what are called the natural methods of the Divine Government: and the progress towards perfection must therefore be extremely gradual. The object of a revelation is to quicken the progress, and not, as is usually supposed, to change or supersede it. As, by a beneficent ordination of Providence, the perception of every new truth invigorates the perceptive power, the exhibition of facts which it would have required ages to establish by inference, must assist, in an incalculable degree, the development of reason; and this assistance is

rendered yet more valuable by its extension to masses of people; by its equal adaptation to a multitude of minds. Lessing calls this assistance Education. "Revelation," he says, "is to the whole race of mankind what education is to the individual." "Education is a revelation made to a single man; and revelation is the education of the whole race of mankind which has taken place, and still continues to take place." To serve the purpose of an analogy, this mode of expression may be allowed; but it is not sufficiently accurate to be brought forward as an aphorism. Education does not consist in the exhibition of facts, nor chiefly in the inculcation of principles, but in the formation and strengthening of those powers by which facts are to be ascertained and principles deduced. Regarding education generally, however, as a means of improvement, the analogy is sufficiently close; and revelation, in its comparison with reason, may be described as a special, superadded to a general, system of education of the the human race.

The first object to be attained by a special system of this kind was to antedate men's perception of a divine moral government. A few individuals might, by natural means, and after a great length of time, have formed some conception of such a Providence; but the necessary operations of the mind are complicated, and such as presuppose a considerable degree of intellectual advancement: and even when clearly established in the minds of a few, such a conception could not be easily or speedily imparted to the many. The work was effected by the Judaical revelation; and how was the method suited to the object?

As the great truth which was the object of this revelation was to be recognised by mankind at large, the object would have been lost if the special mode had been employed on every nation. If a separate revelation had been made to each people, each would have been occupied with the man-

ifestations granted to itself, and the Universal Father would have been regarded by each as a national God. No one nation could have compared the various dispensations, and ascertained the point to which they were severally made to tend. The experiment would have been too vast. For any practical purpose, the world at large is too undefined a spectacle to the world at large. A revelation to individuals would still less have answered the purpose. Such a diversity of experiences would have created perplexity in the minds of those who might be disposed to observation and inquiry; while the careless would have failed to recognise any common object among dispensations so various. Nothing remarkable and interesting to the race could have speedily arisen from the separate convictions of insulated minds. The mode of human education would in this case have been too diversified, as in the other too vast. These imperfections might be avoided by the selection of a single people, who, by being educated apart, might be an object of attention to the entire race, while they afforded an unquestionable instance of the allotment of prosperity in reward of obedience, — of the accommodation of condition to character. Such was the method adopted.

The time, the place, the circumstances, were all suited to the object in view. The Jewish people was surrounded by nations capable of observing, and disposed to observe, its peculiarities, their origin and consequences. Placed in the midst of these nations, enduring through their vicissitudes, or undergoing changes as peculiar as its internal institutions, changes whose commencement was never unforeseen, and whose results were ever remarkable, the Jewish nation could not but be a conspicuous object, and human reason could not resist the conviction which was pressed upon it, that, as obedience to a certain law was always followed by national prosperity, and disobedience by national affliction, the giver of that law must be a Moral Governor.

It was necessary that the people designed to exemplify the existence of a moral government should be uncultivated; that is, should have made but little progress under the general system of education. The special process could not be so complete as to enable the subjects of it to become the preceptors of others, unless they themselves had gone through every stage. Instead, therefore, of selecting the most enlightened of nations, and causing it to start from an advanced point, Providence called out from the most abject slavery, and the most debasing ignorance, a people who were destined soon to outstrip the more civilized nations by whom they were oppressed.

What was the nature of the religion of the Jews during their Egyptian bondage, we have no means of ascertaining; but their history affords internal evidence that they had no firm trust in God, and that they inclined to the superstitions of their task-masters. Moses was far more enlightened than the generality of his nation; yet he had no notion of a ready obedience; and when charged with a message to the people, requested to know by what name the Deliverer should be announced. The people had no expectation of a deliverance, and only submitted to the necessary means while signs and wonders were wrought before their eyes. During each interval of these miraculous acts, their faith declined, their courage failed; they relapsed into superstition, and into abject content with their enslaved condition. Their cry was still, "Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians." No further evidence is needed to prove that they were a rude and ignorant people; that their Theism was impure; and that the conception of a divine moral government was not yet generated.

A provision had, however, been made for a favorable beginning, by the acts which had distinguished Abraham as the founder of a great nation. By his peculiar dispensations among the patriarchs, God had established a claim on the

remembrance and the affections of the Israelites, which kept "the God of their fathers" from total oblivion, even in an idolatrous land. The history of Abraham was preserved in remembrance, not only on account of the promises connected with his covenant, but from the singularity of its events and consequences. The manifestation of Deity in these events was never doubted; and communications announced from the same Deity could not but be listened to more readily than messages from a strange God. It is plain, however, that the title by which he was endeared to them confined them to the narrow conception of a national God. They were not prepared for a more enlarged idea of Deity; but while retaining this, they were prone to idolatry, and ready to offer homage to any god who might at the moment appear the most powerful, or the most indulgent to their prevailing desires. It appears to have been long before they were willing to relinquish the liberty of choosing their God; and that they were brought to this point at last by a sense of helplessness in the grasp of irresistible power. They were at length convinced that their God was the Mightiest, and therefore, and not because they believed there was no other, they became his servants. Their deliverance from bondage proved that the Egyptian deities were inferior to Jehovah; and the conquest of Canaan cast contempt on the gods of the neighbouring nations. But there was no proof yet admitted of the non-existence of these gods; and for a great length of time the Jews seem to have prided themselves, — not on having attained to the knowledge of the One God, — but on having a more illustrious Deity than any other nation.

At what period the Jewish people arrived at the recognition of the unity of God we can only conjecture. Lessing believes that this grand advance in their theology took place during the captivity, and in consequence of an acquaintance with the religious worship of the enlightened Persians. The

Hebrew Scriptures, however, bear witness abundantly to the erroneousness of this conjecture. They prove, not perhaps that the strict unity of Jehovah was recognised by the bulk of the people, but that their prophets and wise men acknowledged him as the Creator of the whole world, the Father of all the families of the earth; not only as the mightiest among the gods, but as God, in distinction from idols of metal or stone. It seems impossible, for instance, to read in connexion the 104th, 139th, and 115th Psalms, that is, to bring together declarations of his universal creative power, his omnipresence, and the utter helplessness of the idols of the heathen, without being convinced that the unity of the God of the Hebrews was the fundamental truth of the Psalmist's religion.

Reason and revelation were both employed in the discovery and acknowledgment of this important truth, and, as in every other instance, were adapted to yield mutual aid. The power of Jehovah was displayed by miraculous revelations; but it was the province of reason to compare this power with that which was attributed to the heathen gods, and to ascertain, first, its magnitude, and afterwards its illimitable nature. Revelation having been employed in accelerating the progress of reason, was now, in its turn, enlightened by reason, while it was still used as a means of further improvement. We nowhere learn that the strict unity of Jehovah was made an express object of revelation previous to the appointment of the law; but materials were, from the first, offered to the reasoning power from which this great truth might be and was inferred. This reciprocal influence, characteristic of the entire scheme of Providence, and of each individual dispensation, was productive of the most important consequences in the present instance. The conceptions of the worshippers of Jehovah were enlarged, corrected, and ennobled. A new light was cast on the records of their history, and on the purpose of their separation from the rest of mankind. The

existence of a divine moral government, which had been perceived long before, was now more justly apprehended, and understood in a larger sense.

The unity of the Moral Governor is clearly essential to the perfection of his government. If he be not supreme governor, his administration must be weak in some point or another; if he be not sole governor, it must be inconsistent. While his power is supposed to be limited or divided, the confidence of his subjects will be partial and wavering. While, therefore, it is generally and justly supposed that the Jews were rendered a peculiar people for the purpose of preserving and spreading in the world the knowledge of the Divine unity, it should be remembered that this great truth is itself made subservient to an ulterior object, — the exhibition of a divine moral government. A fundamental doctrine is useless till something is built upon it, and the conviction of the unity of the Godhead derives its sole value from the inferences which may be deduced from it. It is because these inferences are all-important, that the truth is of surpassing value.

The exhibition of a moral government had immediately followed, as a necessary consequence, the revelation of the attributes of Deity; or rather it accompanied that revelation; for the two objects are so closely connected that it is almost impossible to separate them. Those attributes were displayed in the administration of the government, and the provisions of the government were explained by a reference to the Divine attributes. The one attribute of Deity which led to the conviction of his strict unity was power: and this belief in his unity, — the perception that good and evil, threats and promises, wrath and mercy, proceeded from the same ruler of human affairs — generated that union of love and fear which renders men the subjects of a moral government. Thus the knowledge of God's nature and providence were acquired together.

In the first stages of moral discipline, before the faculties of comparison and inference are developed, the mind must be governed by absolute and direct precepts, and not by general principles. We give a particular command to a child, where we should propose a general principle to an adult. Therefore, as the subjects of the Mosaic administration were infants in mind, a precise ritual was ordained as the object and test of their obedience. Such moral instructions as could not be embodied in an external ritual were yet connected with it by the penalties to which the disobedient were sentenced. Reason had not yet advanced so far as to be capable of forming a rule, or even a clear conception of duty, and it was therefore assisted by the imposition of a law which could not be essentially misunderstood or perverted. The law was made efficient for this purpose by sanctions peculiarly adapted to the condition of the Jewish people. As they had not attained sufficient comprehension of mind to discern remote, invisible, or intangible consequences of present actions, they were made subject to sensible and immediate rewards and punishments.

These rewards and punishments were invariably administered as promised or threatened; but they were usually national, and not individual. This was a wise provision. Their efficiency, as a mode of discipline, was secured by their regularity, while the minds of the people were enlarged, by the extension of their hopes and fears to national objects. — Besides, if reward and punishment had been accurately measured to every individual, no way would have been left open for the conception of a future state. Though it was not the Divine purpose to reveal this truth under the first dispensation, it was manifestly unfit that the system should contain any provision which must retard its subjects in their discovery of any truth at which they must at length arrive. No notice of a future life is to be found under the Mosaic dispensation;

but neither does it contain any thing inconsistent with the doctrine, nor interpose any obstacle to its recognition by reason.

The administration of reward and punishment was not the less invariable because averted by relapse or repentance. In such cases, the repentance and relapse became new occasions for the exercise of the sanctions of the law. The infliction of punishment was, indeed, often delayed; and this delay proved one of the most powerful means of exciting the hopes and fears, and therefore the love and awe, of the people. It was especially necessary to their spiritual cultivation that they should experience the long-suffering and mercy of Jehovah, as well as his justice; that love should be united with fear, and even overbalance it. As they were led to the recognition of his supremacy, and afterwards of his unity, by displays of power; as no refuge from his presence existed, and as entire national obedience to the law was impossible, the people would have regarded him with unmixed terror, if it had not been for a counterbalancing conviction of his tenderness and benignity; and terror, in this instance, as under all despotisms, would have nullified the purposes of a moral government, and carried back human reason, instead of accelerating its advancement. As it was, the motives of hope and fear were so proportioned, the reciprocal influences of reason and revelation so adjusted, as to enable the Jewish people, in an early period of their discipline, to recognise Jehovah as one, and themselves as the subjects of a divine moral government; and thus to plant them firmly on one eminence in the road to spiritual knowledge and happiness.

The following selection from the Hundred Thoughts of Lessing will afford a sufficient recapitulation of the points touched upon in this essay.

"Revelation is to the whole race of mankind what education is to the individual person.

"Education is a revelation made to a single man; and revelation is the education of the whole race of mankind.

"Education gives nothing to man which he could not also have derived from himself, though with more difficulty, and more slowly. It gives, therefore, nothing to mankind which human reason, left to itself, would not have acquired; but it gave and still gives to man the most important of these things more easily, and earlier.

"As God neither could nor would make distinct revelations to (all nations or to) every individual, he selected a single people, that he might give them an education apart; and that he might begin from the very beginning, he selected a people, too, the most uncultivated and rude.

"He at first caused himself to be announced to the Jewish people as the God of their fathers, in order to make them for the present acquainted and familiar with the notion of a God belonging to them alone.

"By the miracles, by means of which he led them out of Egypt, and established them in Canaan, he showed himself at once to be mightier than any other god.

"And in proceeding to show himself as the mightiest of all, (but only one can be mightiest,) he accustomed them by degrees, to the notion of the one God.

"But to what purpose, it may be asked, was this education of so rude a people, with whom God might thus begin at the very beginning? I answer, that he educated in them the future preceptors of the human race; and it was only men springing from a nation so brought up who could become so.

"But of what moral education was a people susceptible who were yet so rude, so incapable of abstract thinking, and so entirely in their infancy? — They could have none but what resembled the age of childhood; that is, an education of rewards and punishments, which were objects of sense, and immediate.

"It might well happen that the records of the Mosaic institutions did not contain the doctrine of future retribution; but they ought on no account to contain any thing which could retard the people for whom they were written, on their way to this great truth. And what could have more retarded them than if perfect retribution had been promised them in this life?"

II.

It has been observed, that in order to render the special mode of education by revelation available to the whole human race, it was necessary that the chosen people should be an object of attention to the surrounding nations, — that the progress of their discipline should be watched, and its peculiarities continually kept in view. An especial provision for this purpose seems to have been made in the methods by which Abraham was distinguished as the object of Divine favor. His history was singular, even in the eyes of those who failed to recognise the hand of Providence in its leading events. His abandonment of the popular religion, his migration, apparently without sufficient motive; his adventures in Palestine and Egypt, the circumstances which attended and followed his settlement, were events so remarkable as to excite curiosity and interest where there was no knowledge of a Divine covenant, no suspicion of a peculiar Divine interference. The fame of Abraham spread through all the East, where, as the declarations of modern travellers attest, it prevails to this day.

The wonder and curiosity which had thus been excited were kept up by the extraordinary fortunes of his posterity. The eye of the world was fixed upon them as the descendants of Abraham, and also as the subjects of peculiar dispensations. The cause of their settlement in Egypt, their degradation there, the wonders which wrought their deliverance and subsequent preservation, could not pass unobserved, or having been observed, be forgotten. When, at length, they issued from the wilderness, a mighty family, armed with a more irresistible power than had been conferred on any other people, and established, in opposition to the will of the neighbouring nations, a religious and polit-

ical constitution, in all respects different from any other constitution, a spectacle was afforded which could not but be regarded with astonishment; an excitement of hope and fear was caused which awakened the passions, and fixed the attention of all who heard and beheld. Comparisons were necessarily made between the gods of the nations and the tutelary Deity of the Jews. Their institutions afforded a subject of speculation; their privileges, of awe; their chastisements, of a short-lived triumph. When protracted observation had shown that these institutions had permanent objects, and some inferences could be drawn as to the nature of these objects: when it was perceived that the national prosperity and degradation could be not only anticipated, but hastened or averted with infallible precision by certain modes of conduct, some faint conception of a moral government was formed in minds wholly ignorant of the particulars of the Jewish ritual, and of the constitution of the Mosaic law. The less aware they were of being themselves the objects of a moral government, the greater would be their curiosity about the peculiar people who were so; and whether they regarded subjection to such discipline as a privilege or a hardship, they would naturally watch its operation with an unfailing interest.

To them it was not perhaps so evident as it is to us, that even in the earlier stages of their national education, the Jews had made a greater spiritual and intellectual progress than any other people. Among nations which had followed the guidance of reason alone, a few individuals had arisen (as if to show the might of this natural faculty) who had attained to the conception of the Divine unity, and even of a future life; who had, in fact, equalled the wisest of the Jews in spiritual discernment. But such instances were few, and afford no ground of argument against the power, or of disputation concerning the objects, of revelation. By

revelation, a whole people were led on, step by step, without pause or leap, to the acquisition of new truths, and the formation of larger views of virtue and peace. By unassisted reason a few, a very few, a proportion of one, perhaps, in many millions, rose to an astonishing height of speculation, elicited some stupendous truth, too new to be communicated to the uninitiated, and strove to establish some degree of conformity between the convictions and the conduct, to proportion the manifestation of light to the abundance of its hidden source. But in the mean time, the millions were wandering in darkness, stumbling occasionally on some valuable fact, but putting it aside if it happened to be irreconcilable with some rooted superstition; startled by fitful gleams of truth, which left no permanent impression of the objects they illuminated; or unconscious of the dawn, whose brightening was almost imperceptible to the most anxious gaze. By revelation, the attainments made were solid; the progress sure; the acquisitions permanent. There was such an impartiality in the distribution of the treasures of truth, that malice and jealousy were never originated on this account in the family of Abraham. Every accession of knowledge was a family treasure; every advance was a national blessing. By natural reason, numerous errors were linked with a single truth, an apparently straight path often proved a deviation, and acquisitions eagerly sought were often found to be false or worthless. Where they were not so, the possessors might find the richest gifts the most fatal. The wisest of the heathens were frequently the least safe and happy in their external circumstances. They were not only compelled to live in loneliness of spirit, but to die the gazing-stock and mockery of their nation. Their meditations in the wilderness were disturbed by the growlings of distant thunder; and while worshipping the luminary of truth, they were too

often overtaken by the tempest of popular fury. While Socrates lived the object of calumny, and died by violence for having discerned the unity of the Divine nature, the probability of a future state, the desirableness of a more ample revelation than had yet been granted, — the Jewish people were, to a man, informed respecting the moral attributes and providence of Jehovah, and awaiting with calm confidence and full expectation the opening of a grander dispensation, the showering down of higher influences, the appearance of a nobler guide than those by whose instrumentality their discipline had been hitherto conducted.

From the sublimity of the ascriptions to Jehovah in the earliest homage of his people, from the grandeur of the earliest prophetic intimations, from the moral beauty of the requisitions of the law, we are apt to conclude, as is natural, that the Israelites were, from the first, enlightened worshippers of the only true God, and that their institutions appeared to them in the same light that they are presented to us. We compare their ritual with that of Pagan temples, the pillar of cloud and of fire with the mighty descent of Belus, the voice from Sinai with the Delphic oracle, the Mosaic law with the twelve tables, the Hebrew judges with the Heathen legislators, the inspired prophets of the chosen people with the juggling priests of all others, and find it inexplicable how that favored nation should have been so long prone to idolatry, so ready to relinquish its privileges, so hard of heart to believe what its prophets spoke. It seems inconceivable that, however seductive the worship of Baal might be, however indulgent to licentiousness, however gratifying to the passions, the people could in reality halt between two opinions, or need the opposition of an Elijah to the idolatrous priests, or that the descent of visible fire from heaven could be required to melt their hearts towards the God of their fathers. But it should be borne

in mind that the Israelites had little opportunity, previous to the captivity, of drawing such a comparison as is obvious to us, and were destitute of the means of making it complete. They beheld the signs, and experienced the wonders, which attended their own dispensation, but they knew not that other schemes of national worship were not as wonderful. It is clear, indeed, that they attributed the power of prophesying and miraculous agency to the tutelary deities of the neighbouring nations. Baal and Ashtaroth were readily allowed to be inferior to Jehovah, while their worship was yet conjoined with his, or occasionally allowed to supersede it. The full meaning of the Divine revelations was not therefore appreciated. They read their law with darkened eyes; and the clouds of their idolatrous ignorance not only intercepted the future, but overshadowed the past. While the Divine denunciations were those of a reputed national deity, they might be superseded; and even the miracles of the Supreme might be nullified by a combination of inferior powers. The impression produced by the most sublime displays of supernatural might, was weak and transient till a comparison of the true religion with a variety of superstitions, of a theocracy with every other mode of government, changed the religious character of the Jewish people, by rendering unquestionable the strict unity and unrivalled supremacy of Jehovah. Such a comparison was made during the captivity, when the institutions of even the enlightened Persians were found to be mean, childish, and inconsistent, in contrast with the provisions of the Jewish law and the grandeur of its sanctions. The Israelites looked back to the records of their theocracy, and saw all things in a new light. They beheld with astonishment intimations of celestial truth which had been unnoticed, manifestations of power which they had contemned, of beauty which they had disregarded, of glory to which they

had been blind. With themselves rested the shame of their ignorance, their caprice, and ingratitude; for the revelation had been sufficient. It was complete, but it had been misapprehended. The nation assembled as one man, and eagerly sought the wisdom they had so long undervalued. They listened from morning till mid-day; their ears were attentive to the words of the law: they stood up and responded Amen, Amen, to the ascriptions of the priest; they bowed their heads and worshipped in a new spirit, and never afterwards apostatized. They had frequently deserted a national deity, insulted the Mightiest by a partial allegiance, and even rebelled against the one God; but, becoming fully aware of the peculiarity of their position and the superiority of their privileges, they believed in Jehovah with the heart and the understanding, and believed in him for ever. Due weight was now ascribed to the miracles which had been beheld, and the prophecies which had been accomplished. The faith which it was their object to generate was now established. Their exhibition was less and less frequent, till at length it ceased, its moral purposes having been completely answered.

Though the establishment of faith was the principal object in the exhibition of miraculous power, another important purpose was also fulfilled. The minds of the people were not only enlarged by loftier conceptions of duty, and the immediate consequences of a regard to it, but their attention was fixed on distant objects — on objects more and more distant as the scheme of revelation was more fully developed. Such an extension of views is a necessary consequence of the exhibition of prophecy, in individuals, if not in nations. It may be traced from the very beginning of the Jewish dispensation. Abraham was superior to the greater number of his descendants, because his conduct was governed by higher and more various motives. He was swayed not only by hopes and fears respecting the present, but by the insight into futu-

rity with which it was his honor and privilege to be favored. While gifted with great wealth, and surrounded by his innumerable flocks and herds, he built an altar to the Lord and called upon his name, as his posterity did in the infancy of the national mind: but he was also influenced to a higher obedience by a loftier motive: he left his country and his kindred on the promise that the whole earth should be blessed in his seed; he prepared to resign his best possession, in the belief that his posterity should outnumber the stars. Promises so vast were not afforded to the Israelites on their deliverance from Egypt, nor for long afterwards, as it did not consist with the Divine purposes to raise them at once to such a degree of maturity of mind as had been wrought in their progenitor; but from the beginning of the Mosaic administration, we may observe how the popular attention was directed to objects not immediately present, how the future was linked with the present in the excitement of hope and fear. The promise of a land flowing with milk and honey was coupled with the hope of deliverance from the bondage of Egypt. A threat of punishment to the third and fourth generation was the sanction of the second commandment, while the promise of long life was the inducement to the observance of the fifth. With the blessing in basket and store, in the fertility of the field and the abundance of the stall, is coupled the curse of distant captivity and protracted wanderings in a strange land. While Balaam pronounced that the tents of Israel were goodly, he declared that a sceptre should be raised in Israel, that a star should arise out of Jacob, before which the nations should bow down. The lustre of David's reign was in part derived from an anticipation of the glory which the Holy One of Israel should shed back on his ancestor; and the woes of the captivity were yet further embittered by the fear that the great national promise had been forfeited. The predictions of the inspired servants of God usually bore a

relation to very distant as well as to approaching events; and the grand object of the national hope, always steadfast, though at first vague, became more definite, not so much through the lapse of time, as by means of the more enlarged views of the expectants. When sufficiently defined, this hope supplied the place of lower motives, and inspired a contempt of meaner desires, a disregard of present objects, an energy victorious over pain and fear, which testified that the first dispensation had answered the purpose of its Author, and that its subjects were now prepared for a wider range of spiritual objects, a higher rule of duty, a purer and more ample flow of the waters of life.

The enlargement of the comprehension of the human mind was thus promoted at once by the gradual purification of religious doctrine, the gradual elevation of religious hope, the gradual improvement of religious obedience under the recognition of a divine moral government.

The peculiarities of the forms in which prophecy was delivered have been the subject of as much study and interest as any thing connected with revelation; but it has not been sufficiently observed that the other methods of divine communication by language were equally remarkable. A prediction is compounded of obscurity and clearness. Some points in it are sufficiently obvious to fix the attention and excite expectation, while, as a whole, it is left in sufficient obscurity to occasion doubt and uncertainty up to the moment of its accomplishment. Its appropriation is decided at last by the explanation of one enigmatical expression or allusion, usually so hidden or so apparently trivial as to have escaped previous notice; but subsequently so apt, so decidedly appropriate, as to leave no doubt respecting the true explanation, or the design of the framer of the prediction. A prophecy may be plausibly interpreted beforehand by the light of reason; but this light will shift upon a variety of objects as circumstances

change; and as the time of accomplishment draws nigh, no two minds will agree in their expectations of the predicted events, or will be able to make all parts of the prophecy correspond with their interpretation. No sooner is it fulfilled, however, than the agreement of all minds is involuntary, for the conviction is irresistible. A strong light is cast on some clause not considered important enough to engage particular attention, or obscure enough to invite conjecture; and now this disregarded expression affords a key to all the rest, and by its coincidence with an actual event, shames the most plausible speculations, puts to flight all conjecture, whether bold or cautious, and impresses the same conviction on every mind. Such an enigmatical mode of expression is the surest possible evidence of design; and a similar evidence of design, with a correspondent final cause, may be recognised in every method of communication by which truths are let down into the narrow limits of the human mind. Such an evidence is found in the provision by which these truths are destined to enlarge the mind while they expand with it; by which room is at length made for the reception of yet grander ideas: by which the attainments already made, though apparently complete, oppose no obstacle to the acquisition of greater, but rather serve as a preparation for the work. For instance, temporal rewards and punishments were the sanctions of the Mosaic law; but this species of retribution, by being made national instead of individual, left a way open for the conception of a future state; and the promises and threats which respected worldly prosperity and adversity alone, contained nothing inconsistent with the notions which might be otherwise generated, of objects of hope and fear less mutable and less transitory. The exercise of reason was here provided for, — first, in finding the avenues to higher truths which were left unobstructed, and afterwards in tracing (as we are doing now) evidences of wisdom in the design by which the

attainments of infancy were rendered consistent with, and preparatory to, those of maturity.

Another instance of wise design is found in the means by which the feeble mind was very gradually exercised in the power of spiritual perception. Phrases were employed in the divine messages, which carried a deeper meaning than was at first apparent, or which were sufficiently mysterious to stimulate curiosity and urge to inquiry. A great variety of such phrases was employed in speaking of death, and referring to the dead; so that the mortal change became a subject of speculation, and the mind was strengthened for the grand conceptions to be afterwards formed. To go the way of all the earth, to be gathered to their fathers, or to their people, were expressions applied to the dying as frequently as the more direct phrase which would excite less attention.

The form in which abstract truths were conveyed affords another instance of the adaptation of the revelation to the minds which were to receive it. The allegorical form is peculiarly suited to expanding minds; and it was so extensively used in the Jewish Scriptures and traditions that it is impossible at this time to mark its limits, and to separate what is figuratively, from what is literally, true. The style is as admirably appropriate as the form. We have history, poetry, and parable; descriptive poetry, hymns of devotion, songs of triumph; didactic addresses, aphorisms, and allegories; repetitions of the same truth in various forms, or annunciations of different truths in similar expressions; a mixture of simplicity and involution, of plainness and mystery; and, therefore, a repository of truth, whose contents were peculiarly adapted to engage the interest of inquirers, to enlarge their comprehension, and prepare them for the reception of a purer system of discipline.

That the dispensation we have been contemplating was intended as a preparation for a better, is evident from the ill

effects which have been apparent in those who refused to be carried beyond it. These ill effects are analogous to those which arise in children whose minds have been excited to activity, and furnished with the elements of knowledge, but are hindered from making further progress. It may be that more was laid in than was understood at the time; but in a little while, when the essential truths are grasped, the intellectual activity will, for want of adequate objects, fasten upon trivial accessories instead of important facts, draw false inferences from figurative embellishments, create arbitrary relations, and by perverting words, force them into the support of some unsubstantial theory. The understanding is narrow, perverse, and quibbling; delighting in mystery, and contemning whatever is easy and intelligible. Was not this the spiritual state of the Jews who would not receive the new dispensation? Was it not clear, from the tendency of the whole nation to this state towards the time of Christ's appearance, that the period had arrived when the spiritual discipline must be changed, and nobler objects offered to the powers which it had been the purpose of the first dispensation to create and invigorate?

"While God led his people through all the steps of a child-like education, the other people of the earth had proceeded by the light of reason. The greater number remained far below the chosen people. Only a few were gone further; and it is just so with children who are left to themselves; many remain quite uncultivated, while some few rise to an astonishing height of culture.

"But as these happy few prove nothing against the utility and necessity of education, so the few among the Heathens who, in the knowledge of God, seem even now to have advanced beyond the chosen people, prove nothing against revelation. The child of education begins with slow but sure steps; he is long before he overtakes many a more happily organized child of nature; but he still does overtake him, and is then never in his turn overtaken.

"The notions which the Jewish people had conceived of their One Supreme God were not precisely the just notions which we ought to have of God. But the time was come when these notions were to be enlarged, ennobled, corrected.

"They returned (from captivity) enlightened concerning their own unknown treasures, and became an altogether different people, whose first care was to make this newly-acquired light permanent among them; and there was soon no farther fear of idolatry or apostacy; for it is easy to desert a national god, but impossible to abandon the One God when he is known.

"The Jews must now have first recognised that the working of miracles and prophesying futurity belong to God alone, both of which they had formerly ascribed to the false idols; on which account, even miracles and prophecy had produced so transient an effect on them.

"I call an exercise or preparation for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the divine threat to visit the sins of the fathers on the children to the third and fourth generation. This accustomed the fathers to live in thought with their latest posterity, and to anticipate in sentiment the evil they had brought on their innocent descendants.

"In such exercises, allusions, intimations, consists the positive perfection of an elementary book; and, in like manner, its negative perfection lies in not standing in the way of the truths still kept back, or rendering their acquisition more difficult.

"Add to this a suitable form and style, and you have all the good qualities of an elementary book for children, or for a child-like people.

"But each elementary book is only for a certain age; and it is pernicious to detain too long at this stage the child who is grown above it."

III.

THE most cursory observation of the various religions systems which have existed in the world affords a proof that the belief in a future life forms a stage in the spiritual progress of every nation. It has been and is perpetually disputed, whether the conception originated in a revelation made to the fathers of the race, or whether it has been obtained by the exercise of unassisted reason. Whatever may be the fact with respect to the Gentiles, there is little difficulty in ascertaining the state of the case as it regards the chosen people.

It is clear, not only that the doctrine of a future state formed no part of the Mosaic system, but that, at an early period of their history, the people had no idea of such a doctrine. In every instance in the history of other nations where the belief of a future state is received, we find traces of the doctrine in all institutions, and references to it in all circumstances; it influences the will, modifies the moral code, and is a prominent object in the delineation of the national mind. The few fragments which remain of the songs of the ancient northern nations bear a constant reference to this great article of belief. It is interwoven with the religious and political constitutions of all the civilized nations of Europe, and forms the principal bond of moral union among the savage tribes of Asia and Africa, the source of religious hope and fear among the Aborigines of America. In every nation where the belief has been known to exist, its influence has been incalculable. It has stimulated to war, characterized the laws, modified the customs, pervaded the literature of the whole people so remarkably as to afford a strong general presumption that where the national records bear no trace of the doctrine, the doctrine is not

known. The early Jewish records bear no such traces. We have a very circumstantial history of the Jews from their separation as a people; and during its earlier periods there is an absence of all reference to a future state. We have, says Warburton, "not only a history of public occurrences, but of private adventures, in the lives of particular persons of both sexes, and of all ages, stations, characters, and complexions; virgins, matrons, kings, soldiers, scholars, merchants, husbandmen. They are given too in every circumstance of life, victorious, captive, sick, and in health; plunged in civil business, or retired and sequestered in the service of religion; in full security, and in the most imminent and impending dangers. Together with their story, we have likewise their compositions. Here we find them singing their triumphs, there their Palinodia; here enforcing their moral precepts, and there the promises and denunciations of heaven. Yet in none of these different circumstances of life, in none of these various casts of composition, do we ever find any of them acting on the motives, or influenced by the prospect, of a future state; or indeed expressing the least hopes and fears, or even common curiosity concerning it. Every thing they say or do respects the present life only, the good and ill of which are the sole objects of all their pursuits and aversions. And yet the Sacred Writings, as we say, are of all kinds. An account of the creation and original of the human race; the history of a private family, of a chosen people, and of exemplary men and women; hymns and petitions to the Deity, precepts of civil life, and religious prophecies and predictions. — Now, is it possible to conceive that in works so various both in their subject, style, and composition, the doctrine of a future state of reward and punishment should never once appear to have had any share in the people's thoughts, if indeed it made part of their religious opinions?"

The means by which the mind of the nation was prepared for the reception of this doctrine are obvious to all who read the history of its discipline. The obscurity of the fate of Enoch must have awakened curiosity; for whether he was translated, or whether an immature death be all that is implied in the phrase "he was not, for God took him," the obscurity must have been as great to the earliest readers of the Mosaic records as to ourselves. The disappearance of Moses seems also to have been enveloped in mystery; and by these circumstances, by the ambiguity before mentioned of the phrases relating to death and the dead, and by the threat of punishment extending to many generations, the people were prepared for speculation on the fate of Elijah, and for the conception that a reward might await him after his translation. They also enjoyed the light of natural reason as abundantly as other nations; for though temporal rewards and punishments were the sanctions of their law, those rewards and punishments were not individual but national; and the strong argument for a renewal of life from the inequalities in the distribution of happiness, affected them equally with the rest of mankind. Possessing the same natural advantages as other people, and being besides subjected to an additional preparation, it seems as if the Jews ought to have arrived first at the most important conviction which the mind can entertain. They were not, however, the first to attain it; but when the conception was once formed, it was purer and more correct than any which prevailed elsewhere. Their faith consisted of more than an obscure notion of the immortality of the soul, attended with fancies as various as the imaginations from which they sprang. As far as the Jews believed in a future state at all, they believed in it as a state of proper retribution; and their faith became an actuating motive in the conduct of life and the submission to death. How early the concep-

tion attained this degree of purity, and to what extent it prevailed in the nation, we cannot ascertain. It is probable that faith in a future life was entertained by a few only of the most enlightened of the Jews, previous to the Captivity, and that it was by intercourse with their Persian conquerors, with the Chaldæans, and the disciples of the Greek philosophy in Egypt, that the rest of the nation were familiarized with the idea of the immortality of the soul, and that they were thus induced to inquire into the ambiguities of their own records, to compare the events of their own history with this new philosophy, and thence to draw inferences distinct enough to become actuating motives. The history of the martyrdom of the woman and her seven sons in the second book of Maccabees (whatever may be its authority in other respects) is invaluable as proving the strength of conviction of a future state of reward which prevailed among the Jewish people; a conviction powerful enough to inspire a contempt of torture and a fearlessness of death. By comparing this narrative with the desponding expressions of Job, and the mournful questionings of the writer of Ecclesiastes, remarkable evidence may be obtained of the progress of the national mind on this important subject.

The conception, whenever formed, and however strengthened, still remained indistinct, partial, and variable. The doctrine was a matter of inference, and the facts from which the inference was drawn were few and insufficient. It was as yet unsusceptible of proof, and destitute of authority, and must therefore have been held on a different tenure from other doctrines of religion, and have been inferior to them all in sanctity. The time at length arrived when it was to be established in its due supremacy in the human reason, by the highest authority and the most unquestionable testimony.

It should be ever borne in mind that the administration of a moral government is the ultimate object of all the discipline to which mankind has been subjected, — of the development of reason by natural means, of the Old and New dispensations. It is usually declared that the grand purpose of the Christian revelation is to teach the doctrine of a future life. It is true that this is the essential doctrine of the system; but we must again observe, as we did before respecting the doctrine of the Divine Unity, that the knowledge of this important truth is only valuable in its relation to an ulterior object, — the recognition of a moral government. The popular conceptions of such a government, though now distinct, were narrow and mean in comparison with what they might become under a fuller revelation: and it was in order to enlarge and elevate these conceptions that a spiritual was now to be substituted for a ritual law, and that a higher sanction was to supersede those which had hitherto been admitted. The revelation of a future life was important, not as an isolated truth, but as the highest sanction of the Divine law.

A remarkable provision had been early made for the changes and substitutions which were now to take place, and which were little accordant with the inclinations of the Jewish people. By the terms of their covenant with God, they were bound to receive every message which he should send, and to honor every messenger whom he should appoint, though the one should command the overthrow of their peculiar institutions, and the other be made the agent of the revolution. In answer to the petition of the people, proffered amidst the terrors of Horeb, that they might no more hear the voice of Jehovah, or behold his lightnings, a promise was given that prophets should henceforth be the exponents of the Divine will; this promise being coupled with the necessary condition that the voice of the prophet should be listened to and his

commands obeyed as readily as if they proceeded immediately from God. From this condition there was no escape; and by a requisition of their own law, the Jews were obliged to receive every divine message, and to act upon it, even though it should command the abolition of that law, and the extinction of its sanctions. The punishment also of those who violated this national covenant, involved in it the overthrow of the preparatory institution, and left the way open for the establishment of the more important one which was to supersede it. These provisions afford unquestionable evidence of the wisdom by which the one dispensation was made subservient to the other, and both to the advancement of the human mind.

As the new revelation was not appropriated to the peculiar people, but, on the contrary, intended to abolish their peculiarity, it had a twofold character, and its administrator a double office. The gospel was presented in one aspect to the Jews, in another to mankind at large; for the sake of the former, it bore a particular, for the latter, an universal character. To the one it was the glad-tidings of the kingdom; to the other, the message of salvation. To the one, Christ came as their king; to the other, as the giver of life. To the one, he was the Messiah; to the other, the Saviour. This distinction, this double character, as it was the consequence of the old institutions, was destined to disappear in their abolition. To the Jews who rejected the new dispensation, the gospel was not glad-tidings, nor Jesus a king. By those who embraced it, the separation from the rest of their race which had subsisted from their origin as a nation, was soon found to be no longer necessary or practicable, and to them the gospel appeared in its aspect of universality, and Christ as a Saviour rather than a king. They saw that the office of this new lawgiver consisted in the introduction and support of a better system of religion

than theirs; a system incompatible with their own; a system designed to supplant their own. All union between the believing and unbelieving Jews was therefore impossible. There could be no halting between two opinions. The advocates of the two systems, the obstinate adherents of the one, and the obedient disciples of the other, were placed in direct opposition, and Jesus spoke truly when he said, "He that is not with me is against me, and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad."

The systems are indeed as incompatible in their nature as unfitted by their form for a contemporaneous existence; and it is no more possible for a man to adhere to both than for a pupil to attach himself to an elementary book while extending the application of the science it teaches to new objects. The Jewish law related to external obedience; the Christian extended to the discipline of the heart. Infractions of the old law subjected the offender to death; but as no individual could have escaped the penalty by merit, a commutation of punishment was ordained, and sacrifices were accepted as an atonement. Infractions of the Christian law, which is spiritual in its nature and operation, can obtain pardon only by a spiritual act; and it was for the purpose of pointing out this distinction that the forerunner of the Christ preached repentance to the Jews. Temporal rewards and punishments, near or remote, were the highest objects of hope and fear which Judaism could present. Christianity not only revealed sublimer subjects of desire, but showed that lower objects might be regarded with feelings the very reverse of those which had hitherto been connected with them. It displayed the truth, that temporal happiness may issue in evil, that the afflictions of life may prove to be blessings, and that they would no longer bear a strict proportion to the obedience either of a nation or of individuals; that, in short, they were abolished as sanctions. As it has been beautifully said, "Prosperity

was the promise of the Old covenant, adversity of the New." The distinguishing character of Judaism was its exclusiveness; of Christianity, its universality. The one appealed to feelings peculiar to the descendants of one man; the other, to desires common to the race. The one was based on facts interesting to those only whose experience bore a reference to such facts: the other was founded on principles congenial to all hearts, in all regions, through all time.

The two systems were irreconcilable; they were opposite in all respects; and yet such an analogy was preserved in their modes of operation, so evident was their tendency to the same point, that there was no room for doubt that their origin was identical. Both were the productions of the same wisdom, and their operation was conducted by the same benevolence. If this had been clearly perceived by all concerned, at the time of the introduction of the new dispensation, all would have been well; but some insulted the Divine wisdom by endeavouring to hold the two systems in union, while others rejected the gifts of Divine benevolence, and chose to exclude themselves from the Messiah's kingdom.

Since, to believers, the Christ could not long appear in his particular character of king, and by unbelievers that character could not be admitted, it becomes interesting to inquire at what period the particular merged in the general office; to ascertain what authority was claimed under the title of King, and when that title was relinquished in favor of others more correctly expressive of the spiritual nature of his supremacy.

It is obvious that the title of King, as applied to Christ, is purely metaphorical. He disclaimed all pretensions to temporal authority, to legislative power, to juridical rights, to the outward pomp and observance which are the attendants of royalty. Instead of enacting laws, he proposed principles; instead of pronouncing sentence of punishment, he recommended repentance; and instead of encouraging the people

to proclaim him a king, he declared that he came not to be ministered unto, but to minister. His rule was spiritual, and consisted in the authority which was given him to abolish the old law, and to introduce its subjects to a better system; and the imagery of royalty was used because it accorded with the notions of the Jews, and because he was sent to rule a nation, to work a change in a separate people. If any proof were needed of the metaphorical nature of his title, it might be found in the fact that he was styled King, while he himself declared that his kingdom had not commenced. It was only "nigh at hand" after he had declared himself to be the Messiah. In as far as his mission respected the Jews, he was sovereign over the house of Jacob, and sat on the throne of David; but as his kingdom was not of this world, and as Judaism was an institution of this world only, he could not be literally the sovereign of its adherents. Supposing him to have been in reality a potentate, the use he made of his authority was singular. Unlike every other potentate, his principal aim was to abrogate his own title, to hasten the dissolution of his own realm. As we have seen, he claimed no power over those who rejected him; and when his spiritual influence failed, their mutual relation was dissolved. He came to consummate the dispensation to which they were attached; and if they would not admit such a consummation, he had nothing more to do with them. To those who acknowledged him as king, he gave the same revelation which was given to the Gentile nations, and which was destined to bless the world. He relaxed their bondage to the ritual law, proposed to them those principles which must form a bond of union with mankind at large, predicted the overthrow of the institutions which rendered them a separate people, and prepared them for the conviction that his gospel was universal, and that his title of King could not therefore be perpetuated. He gradually withdrew from their minds their narrow no-

tions of his sovereignty, and substituted a nobler attachment to him as a spiritual Saviour. Having at first fixed their attention on his gospel in the aspect which was adapted to their circumstances, he gradually enlarged their views till they were prepared to embrace it in its universal character. Those who readily received the glad tidings of the kingdom, were eager, in course of time, to exchange them for the gospel of life.

To what kingdom, then, did Jesus so often refer as that which was nigh at hand, that in which his disciples should feast with him, where his apostles should sit on thrones, and exercise judgment? If it was not the scene of temporal splendor, it must have been that of spiritual supremacy. It was not in palaces, camps, or courts of justice, but in the hearts of men — of the Jews first, and of the Gentiles afterwards; and his disciples were to partake with him of the privileges of this holy administration, and his apostles to proclaim the new law to which the twelve tribes were required to yield obedience. In whatever the peculiar glory of Jesus consisted, in that consisted his kingdom. His peculiar glory consisted in his pre-eminent endowments from on high, in his distinction as the beloved Son of God, in his appointment to the office of Saviour. In this appointment we recognise his regal dignity, and in his peculiar endowments, his claim to sovereignty over the hearts of men. His reign began with the exercise of his extraordinary powers, and ended when that exertion was no longer necessary, when Judaism was swallowed up in the destruction of the holy city and temple, when signs and wonders ceased, and Christianity had spread sufficiently to make its way by natural means alone. According to his promise, Jesus had been with his disciples till the end of the age, in manifest interpositions of the holy spirit, in evident watchfulness over the interests of his church, in the personal

administration of its government by communication with his appointed agents. When the essential truth of the new dispensation was completely engrafted on that of the old, when it had also struck root vigorously in a fresh soil, the hand which had planted, grafted, and watered, was withdrawn, and the charge was committed to the sunshine and dews of heaven.

These natural influences have done their work. The gospel has spread, — how widely, it is not easy to calculate — how deeply, none can know but He who conducts the education of his rational offspring, ordaining the mode, administering the means, and leading on the subjects of his discipline, by slow gradation, from utter darkness into marvellous light. The most important step in this progress was the exchange of Christianity for Judaism. By this exchange the essence was substituted for the form, the spirit for the letter; and the human mind was not only exercised by a holier fear and a nobler hope, but made conscious of a capacity for love, human and divine, pure as its source, boundless as its scope, and eternal as its objects.*

IV.

WHATEVER differences might subsist among various nations in the early ages of the world, there was originally no distinction between Jews and Gentiles. This distinction was arbitrary and temporary; and because its abolition must follow the reception of Christianity, it is justly declared, that by the gospel all things are *restored* to the state in which they were before the separation of the Jews. By the revelation of the gospel, all men are once more sub-

* In forming some of the views here presented, I have been largely assisted by Cappe's Essays.

jected to one mode of education, though that mode be widely different from any hitherto employed. The Jews having been taught the essential truth of a divine moral government, and been made an exemplification of this truth in the eyes of other nations, are called on to relinquish the individuality of their national character, and to unite with their brethren at large in subjection to a new discipline. This call constitutes the sole peculiarity of the gospel to them; and the call being obeyed, the peculiarity vanishes, and the glad-tidings of the kingdom become to them, as to others, the glad-tidings of life.

These tidings could not but be willingly received by the enlightened Jews, though involving the extinction of their peculiar honors and privileges. The new message from heaven was of a higher nature than the former, not only in its substance, but in its form. The essential truth of Christianity consists in the facts that Jesus died and rose again, and that he was empowered to confer the gifts of the Holy Spirit. By these facts, a divine promise was substituted for an inference of a future life; and not only was the existence of a moral government made a matter of absolute certainty, but it was proved to be more extensive, and of a more exalted nature, than had been conceived of before.

The acquisition of these truths was a high privilege; but more might be gathered from the mode in which the gospel was administered; and if they have not hitherto been duly and generally appreciated, it only shows that Christianity has not yet wrought its perfect work.

The grand point of agreement between the Jewish and Christian dispensation is, that the existence of a divine moral government is not only taught but exhibited. The grand point of difference is, that the consequences of this fact are, in the one instance, explicitly declared; — in the other, left to be inferred. Hence it is clear that human reason had made considerable progress between the appoint-

ment of the two dispensations, and that those who were prepared to receive the latter had ground for rejoicing in the advancement of their race. Under the old system, every principle which was offered was connected with a special application and a distinct declaration of consequences; human reason being too feeble to direct the one, or infer the other. Under the new system, facts are given from which general principles are to be deduced, the application of which is left to reason, now sufficiently strengthened to be equal to the task. — In the common methods of education, it is right that the infant should be controlled by express directions, before he knows any thing of principles; and after he has arrived at this knowledge, it may still be desirable for the present to guide him in their application. But if that direction be continued when childhood and youth are past, it is clear that either the judgment of the teacher or the reason of the pupil must be deficient. — It is only necessary to examine the Scriptures to ascertain whether this analogy holds. Nothing is easier than to extract from the Old Testament, in Scripture language, a complete system of doctrines and morals; and nothing more impossible than to do the same with the New. Instead of doctrines, we are presented with facts; instead of a moral code, with parables, allusions to natural objects, improvements of trivial occurrences, and appeals to affections universally subsisting, and always enduring.

That no system of Christian morals has been presented in an unchanging form is pretty generally agreed among Christians; and human reason has been left more free on this all-important subject of inquiry than it could have been if there had been less diversity in the gospel teachings. But with respect to the doctrines of Christianity, the case is different. Innumerable evils have sprung, and still spring from the conception that a system of doctrines is expressly presented in the New Testament. From this erroneous

conception have arisen preposterous creeds, intolerant councils, persecuting rulers, abject slaves. From this erroneous conception have proceeded cruelty, ignominy, perjury, torture, and murder. The consequences of this conception testify the weakness of its origin; the difficulties which it generates prove its spuriousness. If a number of doctrines was expressly revealed, why are they not universally acknowledged by the disciples of revelation? If the parts of a system are clearly presented, where is the difficulty of putting them together? How is it that the divisions which agitate Christendom were never heard of in the Jewish state, where, whatever other dissensions might arise, disputes about religious doctrine were unknown? Why is the Christian world now split into sects and factions, but because men open their Bibles with false expectations, and look for what they can never find, and are therefore tempted to supply from their own imaginations? That which is commonly called the system of Christian doctrines, and essential to the gospel, is not matter of revelation, but of individual opinion. When it is allowed to be so, and not till then, will there be a prospect of such brotherly union among men as becomes the pupils of a common teacher, the subjects of an universal discipline. When men discover (and the discovery cannot be difficult) what it is that Christianity requires them to believe, its nature and design will be understood, and its privileges duly appreciated. Such an apprehension has hitherto been rare; such an appreciation very inadequate.

The substance of Christian doctrine is the revelation of a future life of retribution. All other doctrines, admitted, supposed, or incidentally taught in the gospel, however true, however important, form no part of the new revelation. They were, or might have been, developed by the general, and ought not therefore to be referred to the

special, process of education. This one distinguishing doctrine of Christianity is taught by fact.

These propositions, brief and simple as they are, involve considerations of the highest interest and importance; and modify, to an extent which, perhaps, will scarcely be anticipated, the views of the design of God in giving, and the prospects of mankind in receiving the Christian revelation.

The provision by which the truths of the gospel are made of an inferential, instead of an explicit, nature confirms its analogy with the process of education. The facts which the gospel exhibits serve as guides to conduct the reason to the noblest objects; while the act of inference quickens and developes the same faculty.

It has been already observed that by the perception of any new truth, the perceptive faculty itself is invigorated. The more rapid the development of new facts and doctrines, the more speedy will be the growth of the reason which apprehends them. The doctrines of the Old Testament were such only as human reason must have discovered in time by natural means; such as, in fact, have been discovered by individual minds in Heathen countries; and the grand purpose, therefore, which was to be answered by that revelation, must have been the more rapid development of the mind of a nation. If this plan was successful while the reason was yet too weak to be much exercised in inference, it must be eminently powerful under the new dispensation, when the universal mind, being prepared for the effort, was exercised in a new method of discovering truth. By the gospel, a stupendous fact was exhibited, which could never have occurred in the course of nature. The minds of the witnesses were impelled to draw an inference from this fact, which inference is a doctrine not ascertainable with certainty by unassisted reason. This effort was

a lesson which taught them how to make other efforts of the same kind; how to deduce from other facts doctrines which might have been developed in course of time by the general method of education. Many doctrines, some of greater, some of less importance, are conveyed by the new revelation; but they do not, individually or collectively, characterize the gospel, like that of a future life. They are to be discovered by the same means — by inference from facts; and they therefore answer the same purpose of giving a new impulse to reason; but they differ from the distinguishing doctrine of Christianity inasmuch as that they might, in course of time, have been certainly known by natural means. It is often objected, I am aware, that the dignity of gospel doctrine is lowered by making it a subject of discovery, or even of examination, by human reason; but the conditions on which we receive it prove that the objection has no force. These doctrines can only be received in proportion as they become truths of reason. Before they were revealed, they were mysteries; being revealed, they are no longer mysteries, but truths of reason; and they were revealed that they might become so. It is necessary to remember that the distinction between truths of revelation and truths of reason refers to the recipients, and not to the thing imparted. The truth remains the same, by whatever name it is called, and under whatever aspect it is viewed; the difference is in the human faculties by which it is reached after and attained by exertion, or by which it is only received as a gift. It is, therefore, no degradation to the truth itself to speculate on the mode by which it is attained; while due honor is paid to the best of heaven's gifts by an adequate estimate of its capabilities.

The inferential nature of Christian doctrine aids the development of reason by another method. The gospel

has employed the faculties of men more extensively and more efficiently in its actual form than it could have done in any other. If its truths had been given in the form of a system, men would have grown careless and indolent about them, for want of that stimulus to the intellectual faculties which is essential to moral excellence. If the practical law of Christianity had been imposed in the form of express, unchanging directions, obedience would have had a passive rather than an active character, and the deep, sympathetic interest in this law which has had so large a share in the development of the human mind would have been wanting. If such a system of doctrine had been offered, such a code of law imposed, Nicodemus would not have had his thoughts stirred up by obscure intimations; the rich young man would have needed no instructions how to perfect his obedience; Cornelius would have sought no communion with an apostle; Paul's Epistles might have been dispensed with; the testimony of the fathers, the labors of the learned, the experience of the pious, the sufferings of the faithful, would have been matters of small concern to men of the present day. The obedience of all would have been of the narrow, constrained kind, which is now the symptom of a misinterpretation of the gospel; and if men had not outgrown the law, it could only be because the law had stinted their growth. As it is, the variety of intellect which has been employed in the process of inference, the diversity in the methods by which truth has been developed, the multiplicity of instruments used to effect a common object, have advanced the human reason to a higher point than it could have reached by any other mode of occupation. For many hundred years, the reason of multitudes has been concentrated on the same point; and national and individual minds, united by no other sympathy, separated by circumstance, and alienated by prejudice, have joined in the work of

investigation, attestation, and deduction, till convictions which would have been held in solitude became common property, and the sparks of intellectual light which would have glimmered faintly in their dispersion, have kindled into that unconsuming flame which even now sheds back its radiance upon the sacred records. The analogies between various tongues and the language of the Scriptures, between the customs of other nations and those which subsisted in the Holy Land have been traced; the comparison between the non-essentials of life and the permanent features of humanity has been drawn; and, in consequence, the inference has been deduced that there are substantial, universal objects of human pursuit, and that these objects are set forth in the volume which is presented for the universal study of mankind. Each Christian nation, each inquiring individual has assisted the researches of others on points of equal interest to all, and the usual consequence of a concentration of power has been experienced — an augmentation, a progressive augmentation of power. The labors of the Christian fathers in Europe, Asia, and Africa, not only afforded contemporaneous aid, but guidance and assistance to their posterity. The corruptions of a false philosophy, the superstitions of the ignorant, the subtilties of the deluded, while directed to one object, were of use, if not in guiding to what is true, in warning from what is false. The effects of coöperation, or at least of mutual influence, direct or indirect, have become more varied and useful as time has advanced, and the means of communicating thought have been improved; till there is, at length, a fair prospect of an intellectual commonwealth where each shall share the riches of all, and through the boundaries of whose realm the voice of divine truth shall reverberate more loudly and more clearly for ever.

I say "for ever;" because by the inferential nature of the divine doctrine and law, the permanence of Christianity is

secured. Let the human mind expand as it will, the gospel expands with it, because it is the mind itself which makes it a gospel. When first presented to the Hindoo, in his lowest state of degradation, the sacred records form an intelligible, elementary book. As soon as he understands the language of the interpreter, he comprehends the facts that a good and wise Teacher healed the sick, arose from the dead, condemned certain practices, and recommended others. As he advances in cultivation, he sees more in the revelation than he at first understood; and, if we imagine him to reach the highest point of wisdom yet attained, we shall find that he has still something more to learn from the gospel. Let him pursue natural science; he finds that all his discoveries confirm truths contained in the Bible; that the adaptation of natural objects to each other affords evidence of a Providence — their adaptation to the human mind, of a moral government. To the eye of a Newton these truths were as radiant as the planets in their courses, or as millions of suns in their unchanged glory. Let him pursue intellectual science, and he will discover a depth of meaning in the plainest narratives, bright touches of philosophic truth in the incidental remarks occurring in the sacred records, which administer a perpetual stimulus to his researches. It was not presumption which established in the mind of a Locke a feeling of congeniality with the Apostle of the Gentiles; nor was it a narrow partiality for a favorite pursuit which enabled him to discover in Scripture the materials for extending the philosophy of the intellect. Let the disciple pursue moral science, and he will find that he cannot fathom the depths of wisdom which Christianity contains. In Heathen systems of morals, the waters of life were given by measure, and in scanty measure. Here he finds a perennial spring, where a Hartley might refresh his spirit, but which the quenchless thirst of a thousand such as he could not exhaust. The wisdom of this revelation having

proved thus far fathomless and immeasurable, there is no reason to believe that its resources will be ever exhausted by human reason; that it will cease to be a permanent gospel. There is every reason to believe that the simplest facts will yield inferences vast as the mind which deduces them, and co-existent with the faculty which infers. It is clear that no verbal scheme of doctrine could be thus permanent — no code of moral law thus expansive; and since we can trace the action and reaction of the divine revelation and the human mind on each other, we cannot resist the conviction of their mutual adaptation; that the office of reason is to interpret the gospel, and the object of the gospel to invigorate the reason.

By the inferential nature of the Divine doctrine and law, the universality of Christianity is secured. The facts which it displays are of general interest, and the media through which its instructions are conveyed are universally intelligible. Since all men die, the fact of a resurrection is of paramount importance to all. As the parental and fraternal relations subsist wherever man is placed, the parables of the prodigal son and the offending brother come home to the hearts of all. The wind blows, the field-flowers spring, the light from heaven shines around the abodes of men in every land; and the spiritualizing associations with which Jesus invested them may therefore immortalize their beauty in every heart. While the sacred records contain so much that is Jewish as to leave no doubt of their genuineness, all their teachings, doctrinal and practical, are based on facts of universal interest, and illustrated by permanent analogies. The one provision affords proof of its Divine origin from its connexion with the preceding dispensation; the other, from its adaptation to the expansive nature of the universal human mind.

These considerations lead to a conviction that the education of the human race by a special method is the object of revelation, and that reason is the instrument by which it acts. All attempts so to separate the intellectual from the moral nature of man, frequent as they are, cannot but be vain in the present case. Not only are the human faculties so mutually influential that no one can be perfected while others are neglected, but some cannot be acted upon at all except by means of others. The moral sense can only be affected through the intellectual powers, and reason and conscience, if not identical, are at least inseparable. They sprang to birth together, were fostered by the same hand, and invigorated by the same means. They must be matured by the same influences; and as they entered together on their immortal career, they must pursue their courses in perfect unison. The world of matter was created to be subservient to the world of mind; and whatever minor purposes may be answered by the forms and influences of the universe in which man is placed, the leading object is the generation and education of the moral sense, through the instrumentality of reason. All influences, come whence they may, from the heights of the firmament or the depths of the ocean, breathing from the face of nature or beaming from the countenance of man, thundered from the sanctum of Deity or echoed from the recesses of human spirits, are absorbed and modified by reason. The intimations of the Divine will are, in all cases, received by reason; its power is administered by reason. By its reciprocal action reason is invigorated, and must, at length, be perfected. All other media must finally be dissolved; all inferior aids discarded. The light of truth must visit man in its purity, and spiritual realities be placed within his grasp. Every inferior stimulus must be gradually weakened. Hope and fear must melt into love, reward and punishment must be disregarded, and the perception of good

supply the place of every lower incitement. When this is effected, man must have cast off the shackles of mortality, and the race have escaped the conditions of its earthly existence. New heavens and a new earth must have been evolved from the elements of the present. Then, and not till then, will the gospel have done its work. Then, the perfection of spiritual science being attained, the second elementary book will be cast away. Then, and not till then, the will of God being an object of intuitive perception, the process of inference will be superseded, the application of principles will be involuntary, and their influence unerring; and the truth of the gospel, having been assimilated by each individual mind, will lose its separate existence.

It is scarcely necessary to intimate my dissent from some hypotheses which Lessing has intermixed with his speculations. His opinion that the Jews were ignorant of the strict unity of Jehovah till their captivity, has already been questioned. It will also have been observed that his supposition of the gospel being an elementary book, destined to give place to others, is not admitted into my exposition of his system, such a supposition appearing irreconcilable with the inferential nature of the Christian doctrine and law.

Some hypotheses which are presented as the close of his speculation, are yet more inadmissible, and need only to be mentioned to be rejected: I refer to the evolution of the doctrine of the Trinity from a speculation on the mode of divine conception, which in Lessing's opinion, might originate a duplication of Deity. How a triplication is possible we are not informed; — probably by a duplication of the duplicate. I also refer to the hypothesis that each individual of mankind must go through the whole process to which the race is destined — not at once, but by successive appearances in the world — by a transmigration of the soul. Whence these notions were obtained, it is needless to inquire, for it

is certain that they were not derived from either of the repositories of truth to which we have access, reason or revelation.

My recapitulation will again be chiefly in the words of Lessing.

The Christian doctrine and moral law are to be inferred from facts, and not learned from explicit declaration. This method affords a proof that the development of reason is the object of revelation.

The doctrine of a future life of retribution could not have been learned with certainty from the natural course of events. As to other doctrines, "mere rational truths may be, and have been long, taught as immediate truths of revelation, in order to spread them more rapidly and establish them more firmly."

"Let us examine whether these intermingled doctrines were not a new impulse for the reason of mankind." After these truths of reason have been embodied in revelation, "they must become truths of reason before the race can be benefited by them. At the time they were revealed, they were, to the recipients, no truths of reason; but they were revealed in order that they might become so.

"For more than eighteen hundred years, the Scriptures have employed the understandings of men more than all other books, and more than all other books enlightened them, were it only by the light which the human understanding put into these books.

"It is impossible that any other book could have been so generally known among such various people; and that such different modes of thinking should be busied over this same book, has indefinitely advanced the human understanding.

"The understanding absolutely requires to be exercised on spiritual objects, in order to attain its full clearness, and bring forth that purity of the heart which makes us capable of loving virtue for its own sake.

"Education has its final end with the species not less than with the individual. What art succeeds in effecting with the individual, shall not nature effect with the whole?

"The period of completion will assuredly come, in which man, however his understanding feels convinced of the continually better futurity, will still not be necessitated to draw motives of conduct from this futurity: when he will do good because it is good; not because arbitrary rewards are set on it, which were formerly employed to strengthen his volatile sight for the recognition of internal and better rewards."

DODDRIDGE'S CORRESPONDENCE AND DIARY.*

"Do not you think Biography a very delightful study, and as useful as it is interesting?" is a question asked by all intelligent young people of their sensible seniors; and there is no difficulty in anticipating the answer, for it is always in the affirmative. There is perhaps no department of literature which affords such varied instruction and entertainment to different orders of mind. Young and old, grave and gay, the learned and the simple, the scientific man and the moralist, all have some high example before their eyes, some patron saint, through whom their homage is paid to a supreme object of pursuit. The young sailor who despises all other books delights in the Lives of the Admirals; the embryo statesman pores over the Lives of the Chancellors. Every page in Plutarch is familiar to the best boys in the highest form; while members of the ad-

* The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D. D. Edited from the original MSS. by J. D. Humphreys, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1829. Colburn & Bentley.

ministration, and the orators of Parliament, are acquainted with the minutest circumstances in the lives of their predecessors and models. In one or two of our religious denominations, the lives of the pious are almost the only books circulated besides the Bible; and in the nursery, the child's absorbing interest in Robinson Crusoe is caused by the belief that it is true. And yet in no department of literature, perhaps, is there so much imperfection; in none so much error and deception. The causes of this imperfection are so obvious, and so many curious discoveries have been made here and there, that a pretty general distrust of the fidelity of biographers now exists; and few but children and the wilfully credulous now believe all that is told them of the great and good and wonderful people whom they long to resemble. This distrust, however unavoidable, has a very demoralizing effect; and it is worth a serious inquiry whether there is any probability, or at least whether there is not a possibility of its being removed.

The liability to deception of which we complain relates solely to the character of the person whose mind and whose deeds are set forth, and therefore it is of more material consequence in some kinds of biography than in others. The value of some histories of eminent men depends on the character of their external actions more than of their internal constitution. When we read of scientific men, for instance, it concerns us more to know what were their discoveries and inventions, and how they made them, than how they controlled their tempers and their families; and with respect to these inventions and discoveries, we are not in much danger of being deceived. In forming an acquaintance with an eminent statesman, we follow his schemes from their origin to their completion, and watch the progress of measures on which the welfare of millions depends, without being so anxious to attend him into the retirement of his

thoughts as in the case of the philosopher or the saint, whose mind and not whose fortunes, is the subject of our inquiry. Yet an acquaintance with the fortunes and achievements of eminent men is of little importance, in comparison with the knowledge of the internal machinery by which those achievements are originated, and those fortunes modified; and in proportion to the dimness of our insight into this internal constitution does biography lose its interest and its value. The histories of pious men and moralists are worth almost nothing at all, if the structure of their minds is hidden from the reader; and as long as the revelation is partial, and the representation defective, the effect on the mind of the inquirer cannot be purely beneficial. Has such a thing as a tolerably correct delineation of any one mind ever been offered to the public? Have we ever met with a representation of character supported by facts, at all approaching in fairness to those discussions of the characters of our friends which are held in conversation while they are alive and active? For ourselves, we can answer, never. In the longest, the most fair-seeming narrative of a life, we have always found something deficient, something unsatisfactory, something which we cannot reconcile, or which it is impossible to believe. Much as we grieve, we do not wonder at this; for we see where the difficulties lie; and these difficulties are so various and so nearly insuperable, that we consider the position of a conscientious biographer one of the most perplexing that can be conceived. Did he know intimately the character he is going to describe? If he did, how can he bring himself to notice the weakness, the follies, the peculiarities, which he desires should be forgotten in the grave, and which, to the eye of friendship, have already faded away into shades too slight to be caught ere they vanish? If he did not know him, how is he qualified for the task he has undertaken?

Did he love the departed? If he did, can he form an impartial estimate of his virtues? If not, how came he by the knowledge of those finer qualities of the soul which can only be revealed to a kindred soul, and which yet must not be omitted in a delineation of the mind? It is obvious that no delineation of the mind can be complete. The obstacles are too many and too great. But true philosophy can argue from things that are known, to those which are not known; and here we have a method by which we may surmount many difficulties. For this purpose, the facts with which we are furnished must be true, the details faithful, the materials of unquestionable originality. If we cannot have the whole truth, we ought to be told nothing but the truth; and if this rule be observed, (as in common fairness it ought,) we will contrive to make out for ourselves whatever it is of material consequence to ascertain. But, can we ever feel entirely satisfied of the fidelity of the meagre relations which are afforded us? Alas! in very few cases; but in a few we may. How do we know, how can we distinguish such cases from the many? By the presence of a simplicity which carries conviction with it; by an impress of truth which cannot be counterfeited; by a verisimilitude analogous to that by which we are enabled to pronounce on the resemblance of a portrait without having seen the original. Where are we to look for such? Not in volumes of panegyric which assume the form of narrative. Not in quartos whose chapters contain one fact enveloped in a multitude of observations; where the author forgets his subject, while striving to immortalize himself. Not among the equivocations of timid friendship, or the mysterious insinuations of a writer who sports with the interest of his readers, and seems proud of knowing more than he chooses to tell. We know of one short memoir, and perhaps but of one, which is nearly free from the besetting sins of

biography. The subject is a peculiarly favorable one from its simplicity, which renders the paucity of materials of less importance than in almost any other case which we could point out. We refer to the Life of Newton, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. There is a lofty interest attached to this memoir, unequalled by any thing we have ever met with in the same department of literature; and though much of the charm no doubt resides in the majestic character of the mind of the philosopher, the biographer has no little merit in having forborne to impair the charm by the intrusion of any thing irrelevant. The impression of awe on the mind of the reader is powerful; and the tone of feeling is not let down by any appeals to feeling. There is no panegyric, and but little comment. The facts are stated with perfect simplicity, the author well knowing that the inferences from them are sublime. There is no attempt at inculcation from beginning to end; and yet, a finer series of moral lessons, a more powerful incentive to philosophic meditation, was, perhaps, never presented by moralist or divine. It is not probable that equal success would attend the same method in any other case; for such a subject as Newton can no where else be found. There is no other man whose life approached so nearly to a pure abstraction. No other man was perhaps, so free from the entanglements of various pursuit, from the intricacies of social relations, from the inconsistencies of jarring passions and irreconcilable desires. Every other man's life, external and internal, is a system of checks and counterchecks; and in proportion to the balance of these checks is the happiness of his lot, and the perfection of his soul. But Newton started off almost from his birth into a lofty career where there was neither opposition nor drawback; and by this means he was withdrawn from the usual relations to society, and stood so far apart that his biographer has

been enabled by the absence of all intervening objects, to present us with a full portraiture, instead of a variety of hasty and deceptive sketches, snatched amidst the jostling of a crowd. If such advantages should be presented to any future biographer, we can only wish that he may be equally able to estimate and willing to improve them.

"But why," it is asked, "should biography be so generally defective, when men have the power of describing themselves? When men have only to look into themselves, and back upon their past lives, why should they not tell us faithfully what they see and what they remember?" Because they cannot. If they have the will, they have not the nerve: and if they had the nerve, they have not the power. Very few have the will to write an autobiography worth reading, because there is not one man in a thousand who is aware what are the truths which we most want to learn. We have abundance of lives written by actors, housebreakers, ladies, men of literature, travellers, and sailors: but their narratives are collections of facts of temporary interest, or of no interest at all, or of a kind of interest which bears no relation to the philosophy of mind or morals. But of philosophers or moralists who have cast a new light from within on these great subjects of human inquiry, we have almost none. To Montaigne, indeed, we are largely indebted; and we allow that valuable hints are scattered among autobiographical works, slight glimpses into the dim vistas of human thought, which could not otherwise have been obtained: but they are few and tantalizing. If a man have sufficiently studied himself and others to know in what respects our knowledge is most deficient, and to wish to supply the deficiency, more courage is required than perhaps any one can command. It is painful enough to fix our gaze steadily on any foul stain or festering sore within, which is hidden from every other

human eye; it is difficult enough to detect every slight obliquity, and to acknowledge to ourselves the permanence of any deformity which we have long labored to rectify: and how can we summon courage to stand the examination of the public, to invite the careless observation of those who cannot feel with us, or the rigid scrutiny of some who will not spare us? The best parts of ourselves it is yet more difficult to expose, as the most exalted virtues are the most modest, and the most refined parts of the human machine are the most sensitive. We may heroically give ourselves over to dissection, provided the process be delayed till we are past feeling: but if our tender-hearted friends shrink from delivering us up even then to the operation, how can it be expected that we should begin the work upon ourselves, when every nerve is quivering, and every touch is pain? It is impossible. We may unveil our faces, but we must leave it to others to lay bare our muscles and sinews. But even these difficulties are not the greatest. Much regard as we owe to our own feelings, we owe more to others; and our lives are so interwoven, the texture of any one mind is wrought of such various materials gathered from others, the relations of every individual are so complex, that no man can give a faithful description of himself without letting out many a secret which he has no right to disclose. If we consider for a moment how we should set about writing a history of ourselves, we shall find that so much of our character has been derived from the virtues of those with whom we live, and so much from their failings, that this consideration alone puts a seal on our lips, though we may be aware of the possession of some valuable facts which need not else be secret, and long to assist others with the experience which we have obtained from some peculiarity of circumstances whose results must be confined to ourselves through this restraint on the liberty of speech.

We may give the results of our experience in conversation, in letters, &c., as general remarks; but in the form of biography, it appears impossible that any one involved in the common relations of society should present a faithful picture of the growth of his spiritual, or even the development of his intellectual part.

It has been often attempted to get rid of some of the peculiar difficulties attending the publication of a life, by delaying it till all the contemporaries of the person celebrated are dead. One point is thus gained; their feelings are spared: but the feelings of their descendants sometimes deserve as much respect as their own. Another point is gained; there is less danger of partiality, less temptation to color and suppress; but, to counterbalance this advantage, there is commonly a deficiency of information, and (unless the subject be one of peculiar attraction) a failure of interest, when the scenes in which he acted are gone by, and the society in which he mingled has passed away. If, however, the character should be one of permanent attraction, and the circumstances of his lot such as men can generally sympathize in; if the materials of every kind should be ample, and if they should be deposited with a biographer who is bold enough to use them without reserve, there is a hope that a very accurate knowledge may be obtained of a mind and character. Such a concentration of requisites is very rare; but we can no longer call it impracticable: for we have an instance of it in the case before us.

Our readers, perhaps, have been accustomed to suppose that they had a pretty intimate acquaintance with the character of Doddridge. Never were they more mistaken. It is true, we have many volumes of his works in which, as he was above all disguise, and as his mind was of a peculiarly ingenuous cast, his very soul appears to be revealed

and from which we seem to have the power of learning every thing about him, except those external circumstances which have been supplied in his biography by Orton. But we have all been in a great error; and however long the impress of his mind may have remained on our own, apparently complete and finished, we must yet submit to have it considerably modified. Innovation and change of this kind are somewhat painful; but we cannot fail to see that they are useful and right, not only on the ground that truth is always preferable to error, but because it is undeniable that much mischief has been done by partial representations of the character and views of pious minds; and by none more than by that of Doddridge. We speak warily when we say that minds of a cast like his own, tender, sensitive, to which devotion was a vital element, have been encouraged to an excitement of religious feeling, an overstrained exertion after objects too high for human reach, under which one of two equally fatal consequences has ensued — that either mind and body have sunk under a painful and protracted effort, or that an awful reaction has taken place — a chilling indifference has succeeded to intemperate rapture, and levity has been substituted for a forced seriousness. The heart of Doddridge was of that kind which all men love; and his example, therefore, was widely influential, as we trust it will long continue to be. His meek and tender spirit, his universal love for his race, his ingenuous simplicity, are universally endearing; his peculiar temperament fitted him for a life of devotion, and, united with his particular circumstances, strengthened him for a loftier flight into the regions of life and light than can be attained by all who strive to follow him there. We have in his works a faithful transcript of his emotions while under the influence of devotion: his biographer, Orton, represents him as ever under that influence: and we have hence imagined

that his mortal existence was one lofty aspiration, his state of mind one unrelaxed effort of piety, more fit for the vigorous, unconsuming frame of the glorified body than for the frail and mutable constitution to which we are at present united. We have listened with delight and awe to the swelling tones of an instrument whose chords were finely strung; forgetting that "this harp of thousand strings" could not have remained uninjured in the mutable atmosphere of this world, if those strings had been for ever stretched. If never let down, they would have snapped; as we cannot but know from our experience of the mournful effects of religious excitement. Doddridge was as devotional as his works show him to be. He was a fit example for us in the fervor of his piety, the unremitting influence of his principles, and the gentle virtues of an affectionate and ingenuous spirit. But if he had always been exalted above these lower regions, if he had been ever as a saint among men, he would not have been so fit for an example as we now find him to be; for a resemblance to him would have been thought, or (if attempted) would have been found, impracticable. It is, therefore, a relief to discover, as we now do for the first time, that, though a saint in the closet, he was a man among men. A devout man, a heavenly-minded man, for the most part; but still a man: suffering from importunate desires and fair-seeming temptations as we suffer; feeling disappointment as we feel it; indulging in innocent mirth, sported with by roving affections, overcome by failings like ours, and wounded by unkindness as deeply as ourselves. All these discoveries are astonishing at first; and to those who have been accustomed to see him exactly as he has been presented, without forming a guess as to what might be behind the picture, such a revelation causes no little dismay; but there may have been some more quick-sighted, who having discerned

touches of sprightliness and lively wit in his sayings, remembering that he was the author of the best epigram in the English language, and recognising in his intellectual character those qualities which are usually related to an exuberant fancy, will be more charmed than surprised at the new light in which the pious divine appears in the volume before us: and they will not wonder that a spirit so affectionate should be peculiarly susceptible of the passion of love. No one, perhaps, could so confidently anticipate this last fact as not to be somewhat shocked at the display here afforded; and none, we imagine, will approve the extent to which it has been carried; but as we have been finding fault with partial representations, and with the suppression so common in these cases, we are far from complaining that a very full light has been cast upon the important years of Doddridge's life which are comprehended in the correspondence now published.

It was his custom (and to us it seems a very strange one) to keep a copy of every letter he wrote, of business or friendship, trivial or important. His present editor has not suppressed a line; and we are thus presented with as perfect a picture of his mind, from his twentieth to his twenty-eighth year, as an extensive and remarkably copious correspondence can give.

We cannot honestly or consistently wish that any material fact should have been suppressed, whether creditable or discreditable, that any thing should have been added or taken away which could vary the lights and shades of a character which we wish to see as it is. But we cannot admit the necessity of publishing every line of every letter, as the editor prides himself on having done; as a multiplicity of these lines contain fatiguing repetitions, perfectly natural and proper in a varied correspondence, but wearisome to a reader at the distance of more than a hundred years. Not a remem-

brance to an acquaintance, not a trifling commission is omitted; and the bulk of the volumes is thus swelled to an extent which must injure their usefulness as much as their interest. Some of the love-letters might also have been kept back with great advantage, as two or three would answer the purpose of showing how apt the Doctor was to fall in love, as well as a dozen. We are anxious at the same time, to acknowledge that it is a great privilege to discover, on the most unquestionable authority and by adequate means, the perfect purity and soundness of a heart and mind thus laid open in the confidence of friendship. It is very delightful to recover from the painful surprise attendant on the exhibition of frailties and follies by remembering that we know all, and are released from the fear that something worse than frailty and folly was behind. Once having brought ourselves to be reconciled to them as attendants upon youth and humanity, we are at liberty to be charmed with the grace, the sprightliness, the innocent mirth which appear in most of the letters, the affectionate respect for his correspondents in others, and the rational appreciation of the objects of human pursuit, the depth of affectionate sympathy, the dignity of religious principle, which are manifest in all. As the events of the early life of Doddridge, — the circumstance of his becoming an orphan at a very early age, his decided inclination for the ministry, his adoption by Dr. Clark, of St. Albans, and his education in Mr. Jennings's academy, are probably known to most of our readers, we shall proceed to practise the honesty we have been recommending, by extracting letters of a very different cast, but, perhaps, equally characteristic of their writer. The first, addressed to his brother-in-law, is a specimen of the gay style in which he most commonly addresses his correspondents.

"*Harborough, June*, 1726, *Wednesday morning*, 8 *o'clock*.

"DEAR BROTHER,

"I make it a maxim with myself to write to either you or my sister whenever I have an opportunity of writing at all; so that you have two or three letters from me where other more ceremonious correspondents have but one. You will not then be offended that I write no more at large, for you must consider that I have a great deal of business which requires my daily attendance. I was up at five o'clock this morning; and I have been all this while studying the connexion of a short section in the Romans, and writing letters. Nay, at this very moment, Demosthenes is waiting to entertain me with one of his Philippics, and Virgil is bringing back Æneas to his camp, where I have long been waiting in pain for his absence. Dr. Tillotson has also been preparing an admirable sermon, which he will quickly deliver in my chamber with his usual grace and sweetness. And then Gerard Brandt will go on with his History of the Persecution of the Remonstrants, after their condemnation at the Synod of Dort. In the afternoon I expect to hear from Pliny, who generally favors me with two or three epistles in a day, though a stranger and a Heathen — while you, a *Christian* minister and my brother, will hardly write once in a quarter of a year! Then I am to drink a dish of tea with some agreeable women in the afternoon, and may possibly look over a chapter or two in the history of the Four Kings:* and if I should be immoderately transported with the joys of the victory, or the sorrows of the defeat, with love to my partner, or anger against my antagonist, I shall hope to find my remedy in the conversation of Mr. Bragg, who has lately undertaken to teach me the Government of the Passions; a lesson, indeed, which I ought to have learnt some time ago! Dr. Potter is instructing me in Grecian antiquities; but I fear I shall have hardly time to speak with him to-day. However, I will, if possible, attend upon my tutor Cradock, in the evening, who is lecturing on the Epistles with great accuracy and solidity; besides this, I

* Cards.

have a little kind of a sermon to preach in the family, according to my daily custom, and then four letters to transcribe into short-hand.

"Now I will leave you, who are one of the greatest clerks I know, to judge whether all this business will leave me time to say any more than how does my dear sister? Give my service to her, and to Mrs. Nettleton, and believe me to be, &c." — Vol. II. p. 138.

We are the more ready to introduce the following letter to a fair one, who was inclined to sport with tender feelings, because it is far too common to regard with levity the most important circumstances of life, and the deepest and most influential of human emotions. Though Dr. Doddridge might be too ready to yield up his freedom, the solemnity of the following remonstrance shows how seriously he regarded affairs of the heart, and how his affections were made subservient to his principles.

"MADAM, *June* 4, 1725.

"I have so little opportunity of conversing with you alone, that I am forced to take this method of expressing my concern, and, indeed, my amazement, at what has just passed between us. I know you to be a lady of admirable good sense, and I wish you would find out the consistency of your behaviour yesterday and to-day. Yesterday you expressly assured me that you loved me as well as I did you, which you know is to a very uncommon degree; and that it grieved you that you had given me so much uneasiness; adding, you would take care to avoid it for the time to come. To-day you have been telling me, that you could not bear the thought of not being so rich as your sister; that you do not know why you may not expect a good man, with a good estate!

"I leave you to judge whether it be possible I should hear this remark without uneasiness. And if it be not, whether it were fit for you to make it. Consider, Madam, I am a rational creature; and though too much transported with love, yet, blessed be God, not absolutely distracted!

How, then, do you imagine I can put my confidence in the assurances you give me of your love, when you are so continually contradicting them? For do you not contradict them when you talk of discarding me for the sake of money?

"I always thought, my dear creature, you had been remarkable both for good sense and religion. But I own I do not see how it is reconcilable with either, to throw aside those entertainments of a rational, a friendly, and a religious nature, which you yourself think you may find in me, merely that you may eat and drink more sumptuously, and wear better clothes, with some of those people whom the word of God already brands as fools.

"Madam, I must presume so far as to say, that it is neither the part of a Christian, nor a friend, to keep one in such a continual uneasiness. You unfit me for business, devotion, or company, and, in short, make my very life burthensome by the inconsistency of your behaviour. Let, me, therefore, most earnestly entreat you—not entirely to dismiss me, which God forbid, but resolutely to remember your promises, and not to allow yourself those unbounded liberties of saying every thing that the vanity of your own dear excellent heart may sometimes prompt you to utter, without considering how I am able to bear it.

"As for what you said at parting, that I have 'a relish for the vanities of life,' I own that I regard them too much. But, I bless God, such is not the governing temper of my mind, and that I can say, with a full assurance, that I know how to postpone them, not only to my duty to God, but to my affection for you. And I think you may easily believe it, when I now give it under my hand, as you had it yesterday from my mouth, that I will willingly and thankfully take you, with what your father and mother will give you, if by any means there be a prospect of the necessary comforts of life.

"I remain, &c."—Vol. II. p. 47.

The next letter which we shall extract, if sent into the world anonymously, would, we think, be instantly and universally referred to the right author. The name of Doddridge would rise to the lips of every reader.

"To Mr. Saunders.

"*December* 2, 1727.

"I here inclose the hints you desire, which I drew up yesterday morning; and on the review, I see so many defects and improprieties, that were I not so well acquainted with your candor, and did I not attend to your instruction rather than my own advantage, I should not send them.

"How was it possible for you to write such a letter as I received last night? You are always kind and good, and always more partial in favor of my character than any other person I know in the world; and, to tell you the plain truth, I would have you continue to be so; for, if it were not for that happy partiality, you would hardly think me worthy your friendship. You can never displease me with expressions of tenderness, for I love you so well, that I would have as much of your heart as one creature ought to have of another's; and I look upon your fond regard as my glory. But, my dear friend, you must forbear these expressions of unreasonable esteem, for really, Mr. Saunders, I think the clause ..... Is it possible you should think as you say? .... Can so wise a man be so much deceived? Seriously speaking, I am confounded, and I have not the confidence so much as to quote the lines I complain of.

"I have this morning been humbling myself before God for the pride of my heart. It follows me whithersoever I go — into my study, into the conversation of my friends, and, what is most dreadful of all, into the immediate presence of my Maker; of that God who is the fountain of all perfection, and from whose hands I have received my all, and from whom I have deserved an aggravated condemnation. Such is the subtilty of this insinuating mischief, that I can recollect instances in which I have been proud of having exposed the deformity of *pride* with success, while, perhaps, it was only another instance of my degeneracy to imagine that I had so succeeded. Why, then, must your complaisance add fuel to the fire, which I sometimes fear will burn up all my grace and all my religion? How hard is it to keep self in self-sub-

jection! This you have taught me as well as man can teach it, but God alone can make the excellent lesson effectual. I cannot lay a scheme for the honor of my God, and the service of the world, but self intrudes itself, and that sometimes to such a degree as to make me doubt whether the governing principle be not wrong, and whether many of my most valuable actions and designs be not splendida pietata. Alas, such is your 'pious and excellent' friend! You compliment me on the learning and accuracy of my views. How are you deceived! I have hardly looked into many of the most excellent treatises of the ancient and modern commentators, and have only dipped into some others so far as to see that there was a great deal that I was not capable of comprehending, at least without a long course of preparatory study! There is hardly a chapter in the Bible which does not puzzle me; nor, in short, any considerable subject of human inquiry in which I do not perceive both my ignorance and my weakness.—And this—is your oracle!

"Were there any thing which could seem a just excuse for my vanity, it would indeed be that you and some other such excellent persons profess not only to love, but to respect me; but I am persuaded, nay, I certainly know it is only because a great portion of my ignorance and folly lies hid, otherwise you would all but pity or despise me! And when I consider your humility in admitting me to such an intimate friendship, and in thinking so honorably of me, I see the greater reason to be abashed at the reflection that I have learned no more of that amiable grace, with so bright an example before me, and in one whom I love so well, that it might be expected that I should imitate him, with a peculiar pleasure.

"Let me beg your pity and your prayers; love me as well as you can! but pray that I may deserve your affection better; yet whatever other imperfections attend my character, I am, with most sincere tenderness and grateful affection,

"Your friend and servant."—Vol. II. p. 375.

The humility apparent in this and every other letter, was the most eminent grace of a character which was full of

graces. In him it was carried almost to an excess; and to its superabundance, combined with a similar excess of benevolent feeling, we are inclined to attribute the great fault which runs through the whole of his correspondence, and, we imagine, the whole of his intercourse with society: we refer to his habit of flattery. Assured, as we are, that he had no selfish ends to answer, and that he was above the use of such means, — making, besides, all due allowance for the manners of the time, we cannot reconcile ourselves to his manner of addressing his friends on the subject of their various perfections. It appears strange that while discomposed, as we find him to have been by such incense, when offered to himself, he should have adopted a style of address which must have been painful to his correspondents; or, if not painful, all the more injurious. There is far less of this to persons to whom he was under the greatest obligations, and whom he loved the best, than to comparative strangers; and to one or two among others, of whom, as we elsewhere learn, he had not a very high opinion. Here, and perhaps here only, we discover the traces of a weakness which would probably have pervaded his character, if strength and dignity had not been infused into it by the principles of religion. By these principles his gentle virtues were supported, and through their influence his views became enlarged, and his spirit catholicized to an extent of which some of his followers are perhaps not aware, and which they would do well to contemplate. Some admirers of Doddridge, who are ready to class liberal Christians with Deists, may learn a lesson from one whose name was never coupled with infidelity. He thus writes to a friend who entertained some doubts of the Divine origin of Christianity:

"It does not 'terrify' me to hear, that a person whom I sincerely love, and for whose character I have the truest regard, has entertained some doubt, which he cannot entirely

some doubts which he cannot entirely get over, concerning a book which his earliest instructors recommended to him as the word of God. It is certainly the duty of every rational creature to bring his religion to the strictest test, and to retain or reject the faith in which he has been educated, as he finds it capable or incapable of a rational defence. I perfectly agree with my Lord Shaftesbury in his judgment, that religion has not so much to fear from its weighty adversaries, who give it exercise, as from its fond nurse, who overlays it out of an excess of tenderness. I therefore do not only allow, but entreat you to urge all your strongest objections against Christianity, and to represent them in the most forcible light; and if, then, upon the whole, I am convinced in my judgment that they are more than a balance to those arguments which support it, I will be a Christian no longer, but will frankly confess myself a Deist, and rather throw myself on Providence, and the charity of my new brethren, than purchase the most comfortable maintenance at so dishonorable a price as contradicting the conviction of my conscience, and speaking lies in the name of the Lord. On the other hand, I must entreat you, Sir, to enter on the inquiry with a solemnity and composure of mind answerable to its awful importance; remembering that we are searching into a matter in which our views for immortality are concerned; those pleasing or dreadful views, before which all the hopes and fears that relate only to this transitory life, fade away and disappear, like twinkling stars in the blaze of the meridian sun; considering also, that if it be really true that God has sent his own Son into the world to recover a race of degenerate creatures at the expense of his own blood, and to fix them in a state of everlasting perfection and glory, it must be infinitely fatal to desert his religion, and to treat him like an impostor, without the most serious and impartial examination of the cause. Nay, though, after all, Christianity should prove only an agreeable dream, yet, as it pretends to the authority of the Supreme Being, and is supported with arguments which have, at least, some plausible appearance, it will argue a want of reverence to

him, and consequently will expose us to his high displeasure, to reject it lightly, before we clearly see into the falsehood of its pretensions. Persist, therefore, in your resolution of weighing the question in an impartial balance, and avoid a precipitate judgment. Above all, let me indulge my friendship to you so far as to remind you of what a person of your wisdom cannot but know, that our faculties are weak, and that we are exceedingly apt to be imposed upon by false representations. Let that fact engage you to humility, and so to depend upon divine illumination, and earnestly to pray to the God of truth that he will not suffer you to fall into error; but will guide your reason in such a manner as may establish your mind in an unshaken tranquillity. — Every sober and rational Deist must own there is no enthusiasm in such advice; and if it be pursued, and the whole tenor of your life be agreeable to such principles, I am confidently persuaded you will never be *undone* by *speculative* mistakes." — Vol. II. p. 423.

In the same spirit he writes on a different subject:

"You have seen, I suppose, what the public prints inform us of, relating to the proceedings of the General Assembly in Scotland against Mr. Patrick Simson. They are going to deprive that church of one of the most valuable men it contains, because he does not think it necessary to tie himself down exactly to their Shibboleth, nor oblige himself to conform to all their scholastic ways of speaking concerning the person of our blessed Lord, in points where the Scriptures are silent. By what I saw and heard of that gentleman when in Scotland, he is a much better judge of such matters than the greater part of those who presume to judge him! But his crime is, that he will think for himself; but yet he is very cautious to avoid giving offence, which I perceive is by the bigots interpreted as cunning and dissimulation. One would think the experience of so many ages should be sufficient to make the world wiser, and that those, who pretend to govern in the church, should learn at last that their power might be much better exercised than in destroying the usefulness of the best men it contains, merely for nice speculations against

unrevealed or disputable points. Suppose a person should not speak with an exact propriety (as we think) concerning the existence of Christ, a point perhaps much above our reach, if yet he loves him above all, trusts in him, and sincerely obeys him, what harm does religion suffer? But I need not enlarge upon this subject to you who are so well instructed in the unreasonableness of bigotry, as to any set of speculative notions." — Vol. II. p. 308.

To this correspondent (Dr. Clark) he was indeed indebted, as also to his tutor, Mr. Jennings, for early lessons in liberality and candor: which virtues were characteristic of both these excellent men, and appear to great advantage in those letters of the former which are presented to us in these volumes. The intercourse between the guardian and ward (a self-constituted relation in this instance) seems to have been exactly what it ought to be. There is perfect freedom on both sides; on one, watchful tenderness, and on the other as much affectionate confidence as respectful obedience. Dr. Clark's letters are by far the best in the collection, next to Doddridge's own; though in interest they yield to a few, a very few, from a person of whom we long to know more, and for whom it is impossible to help feeling an immediate and strong affection. We refer to Mrs. Nettleton, the only sister of Doddridge, and, we should imagine, strongly resembling him in character, intellectual as well as moral. She is, as far as we can gather, placed in circumstances of peculiar interest, and it is with a feeling of disappointment that we close the work without learning their issue — whether her precarious life was long spared, whether it was at length enriched with comforts which we are apt to consider essential, and what was the degree of intercourse which the brother and sister enjoyed after the settlement for life of the former. It would be painful to think of the degree o poverty against which they both had to struggle, if it wa s not evident that to minds constituted and regulated like

theirs, godliness with contentment was sufficient gain. After visiting his sister at Hampstead, Doddridge thus writes on his return home:

"I do not know how to express my concern for the ill state of your health. I am really sometimes afraid, and I speak it with a very sad heart, that I shall never see you any more; for, if your appetite does not mend, I do not see how it is possible that you should live another year; and God knows that if I lose you, I lose the dearest friend I have in the world. I leave you, and all my other concerns, in the hands of that God who will certainly do that which is best for us both; but I can assure you, that if my prayers, and the prayers of a great many excellent friends hereabout, can keep you a few years longer out of heaven, you will not be there very soon. I earnestly insist upon it that you let me know how you do in a few days, and pray send me a particular account; for I am extremely solicitous about you, perhaps even to a fault. When I am alone, in the intervals of business, I cannot forbear reflecting upon the pleasure and advantage I have enjoyed in your company and friendship, and the loss I should sustain if it should please God to remove you: this thought makes me excessively melancholy, and in a great measure unfits me either for business or diversion. Indeed, I am now in a violent fit of weeping, and can say nothing but what is very doleful, and so will defer writing more till a brighter day." — Vol. I. p. 262.

The reply is as follows:

"I hope by this time you are pretty well settled, and more easy in your solitude; yet I could heartily wish you a little good company; though I doubt not but that you have that best companion, the peace of God, in your own bosom; and besides, you have so many good gentlemen, old and young, in leathern jackets, to converse with when alone, that you will find your solitude both pleasant and profitable. — I am extremely obliged to one of the best of brothers for his tender concern for me, particularly for the share I have in your

prayers, which I assure you I prize at a high rate, and hope through mercy I am the better for. I give my dear brother many thanks for his kind present, and shall continue to take the remedy as long as it agrees with me, until at least, if it please God, that I am better. I question not the continuance of your prayers on my behalf, and hope that you will never forget to beg for me an entire resignation to the Divine Will, a fitness for heaven, and living comforts in dying moments. — I pray that God may make and continue you long a glorious instrument in his hands of much good to many souls." — p. 266.

Our extracts have been made with a view rather of illustrating those parts of Dr. Doddridge's character which were least known before, than of showing how deep was his love of God and man, and how he excelled in the expression of that love. We could extract various passages remarkable for their piety; but our readers are acquainted with his "Rise and Progress," &c. We could quote some luminous and interesting commentaries on scripture; but his Expositor is open to every reader. We could show how fearlessly he could admonish and reprove; but every one knows how strict was his guardianship of the souls of his pupils and of his flock. We could delight our readers with specimens of the exquisite address and tenderness with which he was accustomed to administer consolation; but his well-known letter to a lady on the loss of her brother, given in his Life by Orton, is a sufficient example. The most important purpose, perhaps, which these volumes will answer, and certainly that from which they derive their principal charm, is the corroboration which they afford of the truth that gaiety is the companion of innocence, and that religion is entertained in its proper character only when it is made conducive to the happiness of this world as well as the next; that it is designed to promote and protect the health of both body and mind, by equalizing the emotions, re-

straining undue excitements, and encouraging an alternation of the objects of pursuit, and the universal development of the manifold affections of the heart. It is very well to ascend occasionally above the tumults of the world, and to gaze into heaven from a more exalted point than the path of daily life; but to strive with the ambitious piety of a Simeon to pass a whole life on a pinnacle which was never designed for an abode, is an effort which is forbidden by duty, and totally irreconcilable with wisdom and happiness.

The public will await with much interest the appearance of the promised Diary, which will probably lay open recesses hitherto unexplored of a mind whose ingenuousness has not yet revealed all its treasures of wisdom and of beauty.

* * * * * *

We were not mistaken in our anticipation that the publication of the Diary would lay open recesses hitherto unexplored of a spirit whose ingenuousness, never perhaps surpassed, had to maintain so incessant a struggle with timidity, that its inward workings were never so fully revealed to men as those of many a less innocent being. Here we have the revelation complete: we mean in the union of the Correspondence and Diary; for heaven forbid that Doddridge should be judged by the Diary alone! In it we see how a sensitive constitution like his, made for perpetual alternations of joy and grief, for transitions from mirth to meditation, for impassioned love, for devoted general benevolence, for a true understanding of the bliss of existence, and for a foretaste of the steadfast, substantial enjoyments of a better state, may be cramped, may be perverted, may be exasperated by tyrannical restraints, till it becomes ferocious in the infliction of self-torture, and all but impious in its erroneous estimate of the good and evil that are in the world. It has been long enough urged and acknowledged that Doddridge was a bright

example of the efficacy of religion in stimulating to benevolent exertion, and in sanctifying the life. He was such an example; but for the honor of true religion it must be further inquired whether his powers were developed to the utmost, and whether he enjoyed — whether his heart and mind *were kept* in the peace which passeth understanding. It needs but a glance into his Diary to be convinced that it was not so. We find there a paralyzing superstition under which his powers languished; and a harrowing misery under which faith could not but faint, and almost expire. Endowed with an imagination which should have poised itself on steady wings in an exalted region of light and hope, he crouched in the darkness, he grovelled in the dust beneath the scourge of a savage theology. The vivid apprehension which should have been clear to discern the workings of God throughout a wide range of objects, was directed full upon petty coincidences, till the finest sensibilities were placed under the tyranny of the commonest accidents, and the pilgrimage from strength to strength was rendered gloomy by the shadows of superstition, and retarded by needless fears of the multitude of spectres which haunt such an obscurity. That all things are done by the workings of the Divine Spirit, that thoughts pass through the mind of man as shadows glide over the face of the earth, that every dewdrop has its destination, and every whisper of the breeze its burden of meaning, is acknowledged by every religious man as amply as by Doddridge; but under none but a heart-withering system of theology could such a belief be made the instrument of torture like that which afflicted him. What must it have been to the mind of such an one as Doddridge to believe that he had incurred the Divine displeasure by praying too earnestly for the life of his child; and that this child was made the instrument of his punishment, directly by her own rebuke, and indirectly by her sufferings!

"God only knows with what earnestness and importunity I prostrated myself before him to beg her life, which I would have been willing almost to have purchased with my own. When reduced to the lowest degree of languishment by a consumption, I could not forbear looking in upon her almost every hour. I saw her with the strongest mixture of anguish and delight; no chemist ever watched his crucible with greater care when he expected the production of the philosopher's stone, than I watched her in all the various turns of her distemper, which at last grew utterly hopeless: and then no language can express the agony into which it threw me. One remarkable circumstance I cannot but recollect; in praying most affectionately, perhaps too earnestly, for her life, these words came into my mind with great power, '*Speak no more to me of this matter.*' I was unwilling to take them, and went into the chamber to see my dear lamb, when instead of receiving me with her usual tenderness, she looked upon me with a stern air, and said with a very remarkable determination of voice, '*I have no more to say to you:*' and I think from that time, though she lived at least ten days, she seldom looked upon me with pleasure, or cared to suffer me to come near her. But that I might feel all the bitterness of the affliction, Providence so ordered it, that I came in when her sharpest agonies were upon her, and those words, '*O dear, O dear, what shall I do?*' rung in my ears for succeeding hours and days. But God delivered her; and she without any violent pang in the article of her dissolution, quietly and sweetly fell asleep, as, I hope, in Jesus, about ten at night, I being then at Maidwell. When I came home, my mind was under a dark cloud relating to her eternal state; but God was pleased graciously to remove it, and gave me comfortable hope, after having felt the most heart-rending sorrow." — p. 361.

This child whose eternal state was transiently considered doubtful, was seven years old, and so amiable and engaging that she won all hearts. — Was Jesus ever heard to say, "Of such is the kingdom of hell?"

It is most painful to read the self-reproaches which abound in almost every page. The causes of many of them appear to us to be wholly visionary; and where facts are mentioned, such as indolent habits, the indulgence of impetuous emotions, and other sins, it is perfectly evident that such faults and failings would have been much more readily cured by the stimulus of energetic hope than by the depressing torments of fear and remorse. Doddridge's theology seemed framed for the express purpose of detaining him or dragging him back to the very beginning of a spiritual course; and when he made progress, it was inspite of his creed, and not in consequence of it: it was through the power which remained to emancipate himself from the bondage of his superstitions, and not because those chains were any thing but a hindrance to him. The very office of religion is to lead us on far out of the reach of fear and abasement; to invigorate and not to depress; to bid us rejoice evermore, and never to countenance such despondency as is here expressed:

"On the whole, I apprehend my character has risen much of late, and stands fairer and brighter than it ever did. But surely if many of those that now hold me in the greatest esteem knew what I was in secret, if they had seen what the eye of God has seen, with what horror, with what contempt would they behold me! I have lived a most trifling, foolish life; have taken little care to dispose my business, to redeem my time, to manage my expenses. I have been extremely negligent in reading the Scripture, and in attending to the exercises of secret devotion. I have not a heart to lament it. The spirit of God has justly deserted me, and left me under the conviction of the most aggravated guilt, without the least emotion of tender sorrow. O God, I humbly own that thou art just, and wilt be so, if I am hardened in this world, and condemned in the next!"—p. 286.

What wonder that there was an indisposition to secret devotion and to studying the Scriptures, if the one was to be

pervaded with remorse, and the other defiled with injurious conceptions of the Giver of grace? What charm can the Scriptures have while they are believed to teach that it may be just to harden men in this life, and condemn them to all eternity in the next? We will make but one more extract from the copious records of the wearing griefs of this gentle, tender-spirited being, who needed and ought to have enjoyed the most animating and soothing influences of the gospel to whose service he had devoted himself. These records bear a mournful character from the first page, with few intermissions, till the last:

". . . Notwithstanding all this, my conduct has been very ungrateful and thoughtless. I must confess that, in one respect, I have been more cautious than usual, for I have read a chapter in the New Testament every morning and evening. I have preached several times, and now and then with some spirit, though generally ill. But as to keeping up a lively sense of God upon my spirit, I must confess that I have exceedingly failed, and that my soul has been strangely sunk into carnality. I am ashamed to think how much I have been attached to flesh and sense; in how irregular a manner I have indulged my inclinations and passions; and how total a neglect there has been of inward communion with God. Since my return home, I have most shamefully trifled away my time, by lying in bed far too late, by meddling with books in which I had no concern, by neglecting self-examination, and making proper memorandums. And even now, in the reflection upon these things, my heart is strangely cold and unaffected. The Lord mercifully forgive me, and pour forth something of his grieved and forfeited spirit to cause me this day to approach him in his worship, and to enjoy communion with him, which is a thing I now seldom taste, and only know by report and by remembrance." — p. 310.

How was it forgotten in the midst of this self-reproach that there is communion, close communion, with God in every emotion of joy which attends the vicissitudes of sunshine

and shade, or echoes the melodies of the groves, and in every thrill of gratitude which is excited by domestic endearments and social pleasures? Such emotions, such gratitude, were ever stirring in the bosom of Doddridge; and it was never, therefore, true that he knew nothing of communion with God but by report and remembrance. His false theology deceived him, by giving him wrong notions of the nature of communion with God.

We have referred to intermissions of his remorse and fear. There are such; but they are few, very few; and they are made up of rapturous emotions whose very nature is to be transient. We look in vain for the record of any one occasion of tranquil enjoyment of religious services. We do not, of course, suppose that there never were such. The composed spirit of some of his letters on religious subjects assures us that he found rest and peace in his dependence on God: but the private record before us bears no traces of such repose. We imagine that he had recourse to his Diary as a relief to his excited feelings, and that he was unwilling to disturb his calm states of mind by putting himself under the power of agitating associations. In other words, the substantial goodness of his religion was testified in the actions which he imagined to be the least religious; and its substantial peace experienced when he thought least about it. We, at least, see more of true religion in some of his gayest letters to his young friends than in the following retrospection, which it is but justice to extract, after having exhibited some of an opposite character:

"In the prayer I had much communion with God; in the sermon little or none; but so much in the sacrament that my very heart was almost swallowed up. A variety of plain, solid, and natural thoughts sprung in upon my mind like water from a fountain, and gave unutterable pleasure. Many of them are vanished away; some few remain; the substance of which is as follows." (In all this we sympathize,

and would readily approve, if the thoughts were as he says, "plain, solid, and natural;" but none such do we find in the abstract of his discourse, which is too long to be here given. The sentiments are flighty to an extraordinary degree. He goes on,) "Such were the workings of my heart at this most delightful and edifying ordinance. O! that it may not prove only a transient blaze of spirits; but that the happy consequences of it may go along with me into all the devotions and all the services that lie before me this month, and that I may be prepared for all the will of God!" — "This, like yesterday, has been a day of unmerited, unbounded goodness. I can hardly express the sweet communion with God which I had in his house and at his table. I had been discoursing on communion with him, and through grace I have felt it. A sermon composed under great deadness, which when I composed it I thought very meanly of, was delivered with great seriousness, spirit, and pleasure. It was the language not merely of my tongue, but of my heart. I had communion with God, as my compassionate, wise, almighty, bountiful Friend; with Christ as my atonement, righteousness, intercessor, head, and forerunner; and adored the divine grace for such manifestations to so guilty and wretched a creature." — pp. 342, 344.

We have referred to mistaken views of the design of prayer, and, therefore, we are unwilling to pass over this part of our subject without notice: but it is one of peculiar delicacy, and one on which we should scarcely have ventured to pronounce in the case of such a man as Doddridge, had not our astonishment been excited by the record before us of his vestry retirements. How such minute considerations of time and circumstance could coexist with passionate devotion, we can scarcely imagine: and still less, what good consequences could be expected to arise from communion so pre-arranged, and limited, and regulated. Such regulations are the necessary condition at present of social worship; but why they should be brought into arbitrary connexion with private devotion,

whose very essence is freedom, and how any wise man can attempt to determine his own precise state of feeling at any future moment, — how he can resolve at what hour to be penitent, at what to rejoice for others, at what to mourn for himself, while, at the same time, devotion is made professedly to consist in impulses, we do indeed wonder. A few words from the Diary will suggest all we would say. Alone in the vestry,

"Till near one, I addressed myself to God in suitable thanksgivings, humiliations, and confessions; then nearly three quarters of an hour was spent in prayer for the increase of the church; in pleading many select promises before God, and interceding for my brethren and their societies, as well as for my own; nor shall it, I trust, be altogether vain. Then till twenty minutes past two, I drew up some maxims, agreeably to what I had intended to think of in relation to my daily conduct in general, and as to my behaviour as a husband, father, master, tutor, pastor, and correspondent, and some miscellaneous purposes, which then I turned into prayer, beseeching of God resolution and prudence; and concluded by recommending to him the labors of to-morrow." — p. 522.

We have not the heart to extract the record of one of these days of retirement, (dated June 1st, 1751,) which is one of the most afflicting confessions we have ever met with. We are glad to see it here, nevertheless; because it affords an unquestionable proof that bodily indisposition was the cause of much of the spiritual grief which this pious man experienced. The adherents of his theology will hasten to cast the burden of his conflicts on the peculiarities of his physical constitution; and it is very true that he was so framed as to be naturally indolent, yet excitable, subject to alternate raptures and deadness of feeling. What we complain of is, not that Doddridge was thus predisposed; but that his religion was one which incessantly aggravated, instead of alleviating, these natural evils. When in society, where he was exposed

to the salutary checks arising from a diversity of opinions and sentiments, the religion of Doddridge exerted its pure and genuine influences. He was cheerful as innocent, and dignified as meek: but when removed from these restraints, he was wrought upon by the corrupt conceptions which carried fear and darkness into the deepest recesses of his spirit, or illumined them with a fitful and artificial light. Had Doddridge known God only as a tender Father, Christ only as his holy and approved messenger, sin and sorrow as finite and limited influences, holiness and peace as the natural and ultimate elements of being, how serene, how exalted, might have been his mortal life! As it was, how was it made up of extremes! Now weak, now mighty; in some things narrow and puerile, in others lofty and enlarged; now in raptures, now on the brink of despair; sometimes commanding our reverence, and sometimes pleading for our compassion. This is not what life is intended to be: such is not what the gospel is designed to make us. None ever surrendered himself more unconditionally to the workings of the Spirit than Doddridge. Alas for him that its operations were disturbed and perverted by human intervention!

We may say alas! for others also, to judge from the abstracts of his devotional services given in his Diary. We have never seen examples of a more imaginative, and less solid and profitable, style of preaching. Upon occasion, no doubt, very strong impressions must have been produced; but there is throughout an assumption of a very excited state of feeling in the hearers to begin with; and of a kind of excitement merely factitious, in very many instances. Such preaching is equally unlike the apostolic method, to which Doddridge would have done well to refer more frequently; and inapplicable to the spiritual state of men in this or in any other age.

The Editor of this volume will probably be as vehemently assailed on occasion of its appearance as he was when the first came out, to scandalize so many good people. We think him perfectly right, however, in presenting us with the whole truth, unacceptable as it will be to many, and painful as in some respects it must be to all. It is high time that some one should set an example of intrepid fidelity in the article of biography; and in no instance could the example be more useful than in the present. No wise man will think the worse of Doddridge for any thing he may have said of himself. What blame there is lies with his theology: what scandal there is rests with those who have hitherto misrepresented him. Doddridge is now proved to be, not exactly what he was thought to be, but something more. He is proved to have quite as strong a right to our admiration; quite as close a hold on our affections; while to these is added a new and irresistible claim to our compassion and respectful sympathy.

WEST INDIA SLAVERY.*

If a spirit from some higher region were moved by curiosity to visit our planet, what, in the circuit of the globe, would most excite his wonder and dismay? There is much in every inhabited clime which to a celestial mind must appear "most strange, most pitiful;"—much which cannot but draw down "tears such as angels weep." Here, oppression and answering degradation; there, lawlessness and violence; here, abject superstition; there, rebellion against

* The Death Warrant of Negro Slavery throughout the British Dominions. London: Hatchard and Son, and Arch. 1829. pp. 88.

the common Father. In one country, the heavenly visitant would behold how the natives of the soil are driven back into the wastes to perish, not by destitution merely, but by the vices and diseases imparted by their usurping conquerors. In another, he would mourn to see how the imperishable mind is shrouded in thick darkness, and the immortal soul buried in sensual degradation. In a third, he would wonder at the dominion of an idolatry, whose rites, too impure to meet the eye of day, are lighted by the unholy fires of human sacrifice. But he would remember that these slaves, these sufferers, these agonized victims, have not yet been offered the liberty, the security, and the peace of the gospel. He would joyfully anticipate the hour when the announcement of these glad tidings should be the signal for universal emancipation. He would count the days till the influences of Christianity should protect the Indian in his forest glades, spiritualize the relations of savage society, exalt the apathy of the Hindoo into heroism, and tame the ferocity of the Tartar into gentleness. He would expect with confidence that wherever this influence was acknowledged, freedom and purity would prevail. He would expect to see the limbs set free from chains, and the mind only subjected to that mild yoke which was not imposed by human hands. He would suppose that common rights would be respected, universal gifts equally shared, and domestic relations sanctified by the benignant operation of a power adequate to these purposes, and ultimately destined to fulfil them; and with this hope he would turn to Christian lands. What would he see there? Much to disappoint, and much to encourage. Much external inconsistency, weakness, and depravity; but also much internal purity and strength; many abuses, but a secret power of rectification; great cause for mourning, but more for hope. But if he should at length arrive at a region where all the

degradation, all the cruelty, all the sensuality, all the impiety of the worst heathen lands prevail, notwithstanding the influences of Christianity, and under its pretended sanction, what could he think of such an anomaly? If he found that this region was closely connected with one more powerful, where a continual war is waged with oppression and vice, would not his wonder increase? If he further saw that the oppressed were many, the oppressors few, and that these few were under the control of a power which professed to advocate truth and justice, how could he account for the existence of such an abomination? If England is free, how can she countenance slavery in her West Indian dependencies? If England loves justice, why does she permit oppression? If England is Christian, why does she encourage the temporal and spiritual degradation of her brethren? The anomaly has long appeared no less strange to mortal than celestial eyes, and the question has been rung in the ears of men till many are heart-sick and some are weary: but it must be asked again and again, till the insolent bravado, the irrelevant complaint, the contemptible excuse, are silenced; till not a single minister of the gospel can be found (we hope there is but one) to declare that slavery is sanctioned by the law of liberty; till the indignant remonstrance of millions ceases to be withstood by the puny insults of individuals; till appeals to the heart are no longer answered by appeals to the purse. Let us not be told that enough has been said already, that men are disgusted with details of barbarity, and wearied with the repetition of facts which every body knows, and arguments which there are few to dispute. It is true, we *are* thus weary and disgusted, and therefore should we labor the more diligently till the abuses are removed of which we complain. It *is* most painful to think on the condition of our Negro brethren; of their tortured bodies, their stunted

there are worse fetters than those which confine the limbs —the iron which enters into the soul. They feel that the oppressed are, by oppression, rendered unfit for a better home than the hut beneath the plantain; that the highest rights are those which constitute man a citizen of heaven. Thus feels every Christian. If he feels not thus, he usurps the name. But there are yet other considerations which occur to those who believe themselves to be possessed of divine truth in its purity: there are obligations which press peculiarly upon them.

To the most enlightened is confided a charge of surpassing importance. To them is appointed the care of the universal mind of their race. Every spiritual privilege which they enjoy involves an obligation; every gift imposes a corresponding responsibility. The same radiance of truth which displays the glories of the world of mind, lights their path to the darkest abodes of ignorance and vice. The same hand which presents the lever by which they are to move the moral world, points out the spot where they may plant their foot. The celestial life, by which their own frame is animated, they are enabled and commissioned to impart to all who are fainting under oppression, or dead in ignorance and guilt. In proportion as truth is discovered to be beautiful, should fellow minds be awakened to its contemplation; in proportion as virtuous pleasures swell high in the heart, should their overflowings be poured into the bosoms of others. For this cause is it that human sympathies are imparted; for this cause is it that they become tenderer and warmer as the mind is more fully informed by the wisdom which is from above. For this cause is it that "as face answereth to face in water, so is the heart of man;" and that the tumults of passion which agitate the bosoms of our Negro brethren, awaken an answering throb in our own; and that the deadness of their

despair casts a chill over our hopes on their behalf. To us, (for we must not, while appropriating the privileges of pure religion, evade the responsibility which it imposes,) to us is confided the task of watching over whatever is feeble in intellect, — of animating whatever is dull, of cherishing whatever is weak, of informing whatever is vacant in the mind of man, wherever our influence extends; and we know not that that influence has any boundary short of the limits of the globe. We are told that the world has become one vast whispering gallery, and that the faintest accents of science are heard from the remotest regions of the earth. If this be true of science, in which the multitude of every country have no interest, how much more true must it be of that which is better than science; of that which already finds an echo in every bosom, and will, in time, make a herald of every tongue! The law of liberty is engraved on every heart, and conscience is its universal exponent: if the interpreter sleep, or if he interpret unfaithfully, it is given to those who have the power, to rouse him from indolence and to expose his deceptions. We are bound to warn, to oppose, to disarm all who despise and break through this natural law; and, in behalf of the oppressed, to carry on against the oppressors a war of protestations which admits neither peace nor truce.

It is appointed to us to mark the movements of the universal human soul; to direct its powers, to control its tendencies, to develope its capabilities, to animate its exertions, while we present to it ample scope and adequate objects. If we see any portion of it cramped, blinded, and deadened, it is our part to remove the evil influence, or to resist if we cannot remove it. And in what portion of the human race is mind more debased and intellect more stunted than in the slaves of the West Indies? Some are still inspired by a love of liberty; some would still, if they dared, sing,

by the streams of their captivity, the songs of their own land; some yet retain sufficient sense of their rights to mutter deep curses against their tyrants, and to long for one moment's freedom that they might dash his little ones against the stones: but many are sunk into a state of apathy more hopeless even than vice, a despair more painful than the tumult of revengeful passions. Such beings advance a claim upon us which we cannot resist. We are as much bound to interpose on their behalf as to afford bread to our dependants, and instruction to the children of our families. If they loudly call upon us for our alliance, we cannot refuse it. If they do not, we must bend our ear to catch the faintest breathings of their complaint. If none such are heard, the double duty devolves upon us of opposing the tyrant and arousing the slave. The more insensible the slave, the stronger is the proof of his degradation; the deeper the apathy which we have to dispel, the more withering must have been the gripe of tyranny. This gripe must be loosened by the friends of the slave, for the slave has himself no power. In this case, force must be opposed by force, and usurpation by authority; brute force must be met by the might of reason; and usurpation put down by the authority of justice. Knowledge is power, and wisdom confers authority; and if we really believe (as we have often deliberately asserted), that, by the blessing of the universal Father, the highest knowledge and the purest wisdom have been placed within our reach, we must accept the office connected with their possession, and fulfil the conditions on which they are communicated. In the primeval days, when the earth shone in its newly created beauty, and the human race was in its infancy, God himself vouchsafed to be the visible guardian of his people. By visible signs, by audible communion, he guided and warned and sustained them. In later times, he withdrew

himself in part from the cognizance of the external senses, and spoke by prophets and righteous men. Now the eye sees him not, the ear hears him not, and no external manifestations of his presence are given; yet the eye of the mind has been so far purified, the ear of the understanding may be so intently fixed, that his presence cannot be doubted, nor his commissions refused. There are now no prophets among men, but there are still delegates from the Most High; and every man who accepts his revelation is bound to announce his judgments, and to assert his will; and the more distinct the revelation, the more awful should be the announcement, the more steadfast the assertion. He was pleased himself to release the Israelites from their captivity to Pharaoh; and if he has now appointed us to lead out our brethren from a worse than Egyptian bondage to a state of higher privilege than any under the old dispensation, we must not protract the work; for the time has been already too long delayed. Their bodily slavery at an end, a long and difficult task has to be accomplished in teaching them to enjoy their freedom, and in making them understand to whose mercy they owe it, and to whose gentle yoke they ought to offer themselves.

These things cannot be taught them while they remain in their present state. We who are free know nothing of a morality or a religion of which freedom is not the basis. We can teach only what we have learned, and we have learned from the Bible; and what is there in that volume which a slave can appropriate? A new Bible must be made for him if he wants a manual of duty suitable to his present state; for no changing, no cutting out, no suppression, no interdiction can make our gospel a book for the slave. In the first chapter we read, that God made man in his own image, and blessed him; in the last, that the leaves of the tree of life are for the healing of the nations, and that all who are athirst

may drink freely of the water of life. But who can discern the image of God in the slave; and what is it but mockery to invite him to the tree and the waters of life? In every intermediate chapter, in every dispensation by which the mind of man is led on to larger views and loftier expectations, in the intrepidity of prophets, the fervor of saints, the heroism of martyrs, the sanctity of apostles, and above all, in the serene majesty of the prince of our salvation, we find a truth which is veiled from the eye of a slave, a promise in which he cannot participate, and a beauty which, as a slave, he will never perceive. The motives of the gospel cannot be urged upon minds which have no share in its promises, and can form no estimate of its privileges.

"The immorality and irreligion of the slaves are the necessary consequences of their political and personal degradation. They are not considered by the law as human beings, and they have, therefore, in some measure, ceased to be human beings. They must become men before they can become Christians. A great effect may, under fortunate circumstances, have been wrought on particular individuals; but those who believe that any extensive effect can be produced by religious instruction on this miserable race, may believe in the famous conversion wrought by St. Anthony on the fish. Can a preacher prevail on his hearers strictly to fulfil their conjugal duties, in a country where no protection is given to their conjugal rights; in a country where the husband and wife may, at the pleasure of the master, or by a process of law, be, in an instant, separated for ever? Can he persuade them to rest on the Sunday, in colonies where the law appoints that time for the markets? Is there any lesson which a Christian minister is more solemnly bound to teach, is there any lesson which it is, in a religious point of view, more important for a convert to learn, than that it is a duty to refuse obedience to the unlawful commands of superiors? Are the new pastors of the slaves to inculcate this principle or not? In other words, are the slaves to remain uninstructed in the fundamental laws of

Christian morality, or are their teachers to be hanged? This is the alternative. We all remember that it was made a charge against Mr. Smith that he had read an inflammatory chapter of the Bible to his congregation! Excellent encouragement for their future teachers 'to declare unto them,' according to the expression of an old divine, far too Methodistical to be considered as an authority in the West Indies, 'the whole counsel of God!'" —p. 7.

Nor is there more hope that we can agree with the master on the most important questions of morality than that we can teach the slave.

"The people of the West Indies seem to labor under an utter ignorance of the light in which their system is altogether viewed in England. When West Indian magistrates apply the term 'wretch' to a Negro who is put to death for having failed in an attempt at resistance, the people of England do not consider him as a 'wretch,' but as a good and gallant man, dying in the best of causes,— the resistance to oppression, by which themselves hold all the good that they enjoy. They consider him as a soldier fallen in the advance-guard of that combat, which is only kept from themselves, because somebody else is exposed to it further off. If the murdered Negro is a 'wretch,' then an Englishman is a 'wretch' for not bowing his head to slavery whenever it invites him. The same reason that makes the white Englishman's resistance virtuous and honorable, makes the black one's too; it is only a regiment with different facings, fighting in the same cause. Will these men never know the ground on which they stand? Can nothing make them find out, that the universal British people would stand by, and cheer on their dusky brethren to the assault, if it was not for the solitary hope that the end may be obtained more effectually by other means? It is not true that the people of England believe that any set of men, here or any where, can, by any act of theirs, alter the nature of slavery, or make that not robbery which was robbery before. They can make it robbery according to law — the more is the pity that the power of law-

making should be in such hands; but this is the only inference. All moral respect for such laws — all submission of the mind, as to a rule which it is desirable to obey and honorable to support — is as much out of the question, as if a freebooter were to lay down a scale of punishment for those who should be found guilty of having lifted a hand against his power." — p. 35.

Our only method of teaching morality to master and slave is by removing the obstacles in the way of those truths which must be learned by all, some time or other, in this world or the next. We must show the masters that they are culprits, and the slaves that they are men. We must lighten the burden which weighs down the soul yet more than the body: we must loosen the chains which confine the limbs, before we can induce the captive to cast off the fetters, as substantial, though intangible, which bind down the intellect and the affections. The spirit cannot escape from its thraldom till the death-warrant of slavery be not only signed, but executed.

And how far does it rest with us to effect this? What power have we to assist in this righteous work? We have the power conferred by a swelling heart and a willing spirit to quicken other minds, and to bring them into sympathy with our own. We have power to relate facts to those who know them not; to keep alive the interest of those who do; to spread our own convictions while we strengthen them; and, from the centre of influence, in which all, even the least influential, are placed, to send out to the remotest points where we can act, tidings from the land of freedom, and threatenings of the downfall of oppression. We have inquired of the oracles of truth, and we know that this abode of the idolatrous worship of Mammon shall be yielded up. It may not be ours to go forth to the fight, or to mount the breach; but having patiently compassed its extent for the appointed time, we may raise our voices in the general

shout before which its bulwarks shall fall, and its strength be for ever overthrown.

ON WITCHCRAFT.*

It has pleased Providence to make mankind subject to various ills as well as blessings, and to render their happiness dependent on the right application of the means adapted to temper joy and sorrow. Men have ever been liable to pains of body and weaknesses of mind, and irksome pressure from external circumstances, and also to intemperate enjoyment of sensible pleasures, and of undue excitement of certain faculties of the mind. A counteracting power has, at the same time, been furnished in the influences of religion; a power adequate to lighten all burdens, to soothe all pains, to temper all pleasures, to stimulate to action, and to restrain excess, to equalize the lot, and ennoble the character. This auxiliary of all good, and antidote of all evil, is evidently designed to be made use of by each individual according to his needs. The time will come when every man that is born into the world will recognise, and lay hold of, and apply his religion for himself; when no one will be needed to stand between God and himself, and no human teaching will be made the medium of divine. But that time has never yet been, nor will be, till Christian nations have learned enough of Christianity to give to their brethren, without distinction, not only their inheritance of bread, but of the word of God. All God's children have an equal right, not only to the means of bodily, but those of spiritual life; and till such an equalization shall have been effected as shall bestow on every breathing man leisure for the exercise and cultivation of his immortal facul-

* Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a History of the Delusion in Salem, in 1692. By Charles W. Upham, jun., Pastor of the first Church in Salem. Boston, U. S. 1831.

ties, no community may boast itself of its Christianity. That the dispensing of its benefits has hitherto been committed to a separate class, is a sure sign that its influences are yet mutable; as the sealing up of the granaries of Egypt was an intimation of probable dearth. If our faith were what it ought to be, the livelong summer of the spirit, there would be no more occasion to garner up its privileges in a priesthood, than there would have been for Joseph to withdraw a portion of the plentiful harvests, while he knew that every season would produce its own abundance for ever. Hitherto we have distrusted the promise that seed-time and harvest shall not cease; we have not even tried what the sunshine and dews of heaven can do towards ripening the moral harvest. We have kept the people out of the field, which is theirs as much as ours, and placed them at the mercy of stewards who hold their office by arbitrary appointment.

And how have the priesthoods of the earth discharged their functions? We admit the credentials of one such class, which, however, was absorbed into the mass nearly eighteen centuries ago; but, except the Jewish, what priesthood has shown by its influence that it was divine in its origin? Professing to stand between heaven and earth, have they brought down truth from the hand of the God of truth? Have they been the dispensers of peace from the God of love? Have they watched from their elevated position for the approach of freedom, and given the signal to the world below them to prepare its triumph? Have they directed the tendencies of man to high objects, and employed his energies aright, as it was their part to do if they were indeed the privileged agents of Providence? O, no! look through the records of society thus far, and it will be found that priests have flattered the vices, and taken advantage of the weaknesses of their disciples; that they have fomented strife, and hindered freedom, and, above all, kept back or polluted God's own truth. This,

which is notoriously true of all pagan priesthoods, is not less so, in varying degrees, of all which have called themselves Christian. It is no new thing to complain of the Romish church government; but was there ever a Protestant priesthood which was not worldly, cowardly, and deceitful? Is there much to choose between the ministry of the English church, or the Scotch church, or the Presbyterian, or any other ecclesiastical government? Is not the history of pious fraud (the worst kind of fraud) to be found complete in the ecclesiastical annals of every incorporated religious class? And are we not warranted from this to infer, that the principle of incorporation is as wrong in respect of religion as of any other profession? This principle brings about its disastrous results with equal effect, through whatever means it operates, whether through the licentiousness of the Romish clergy, or the policy of the English, or the bigotry of the Scotch; whether through the fanaticism of the Puritans of a former age, or the worldliness of the Presbyterians of the present. It cannot but issue in these results, notwithstanding all the virtuous efforts of the pious and disinterested who have been found in all these bodies. No individual exertions, or testimony, or sacrifices in favor of truth, can be of more than temporary and partial avail, while principles are countenanced which afford temptations and impunity to fraud. All established ministries offer this temptation and impunity, whether the object be the selfish pursuit of temporal advantage, or the fancied promotion of the cause of religion. It is difficult to measure the comparative guilt of these two objects. It is difficult to make a choice between the Sadducees and the Pharisees; but it is easy to pronounce on the positive guilt of both, and to declare that if there be crime in the worldliness of Romish policy, and in the licentiousness of Romish monachism, there is also crime in Methodist revivals, and in the pretended exercise of holy gifts in a metropolitan chapel, no

less than in the dreadful proceedings which we are about to relate.

Our readers have probably, like ourselves, heard from childhood of the delusion in Salem respecting witchcraft; but they may not, any more than ourselves, have heard the particulars related by an impartial historian, and elucidated by the lights of philosophy and experience. This is done in the little work before us, which, for the sake of its commentary, as well as its narrative, we should like to put into the hands of Mr. Irving's followers, (if he still has any,) and of not a few disciples of the managers of orthodoxy and methodism in this country. Though society has advanced too far, we trust, to be again liable to the visitations on Salem in 1692, the same inclinations may exist in certain ecclesiastics, the same weaknesses in certain of their followers, ready to exert their evil influences, in modes accordant with the spirit of the times. However extravagant in its horrors, therefore, this narrative may appear to us, it will ever remain as an admonition, while the key by which its machinery is disclosed is the same which unlocks the mysteries of our own hearts. As long as there exists priestly manœuvring on one hand, and spiritual subservience on the other, this tale of Salem will remain a tale of the times.

However the principles of the pilgrim fathers were strengthened by the persecutions which drove them to the shores of America, their social dispositions were not (how should they be?) ameliorated by their circumstances. If they left persecution behind, privation awaited them; and the sufferings they underwent, for a long period after their settlement, combined with the political and ecclesiastical events of the time, confirmed them in a gloomy fanaticism, which they transmitted to their descendants. These, in their turn, were exposed to an aggravation of their prevailing weaknesses, by their position. They were encompassed by dangers, and

oppressed with hardships. Pirates desolated them from the sea, and the Indians from the woods, and a barbarous war with these enemies was waged from year to year. They were weighed down with a burden of debt, and with an intolerable taxation, — circumstances not the most favorable to the temper, nor consequently to the reason, of a community. Within a short time, the town had lost all its venerable fathers and leading citizens; there were no monied institutions, no foreign commerce, no objects of general interest to concentrate their exertions, and no predominant influence to guide them. Political jealousies found their way into the place; religious dissensions sprang up; the wars with the Indians and the pirates had produced a relaxed and licentious state of morals among the people. A worse intellectual and moral condition can scarcely be conceived. Those who wished to restrain the downward career of society, thought of no other way of doing so than increasing the influence of the clergy. Special efforts were made, at the beginning of the year of the delusion, to renew the power of the spirit of the gospel; and while, probably, all believed that the Evil One was let loose in their community, some endeavoured to check his authority by lawful means only, while others abused their influence over the imaginations of the people, and led them to the extreme of superstition; thus striving to do God service by debasing man.

A violent religious dissension had, at this time, spread strife through the whole town, and was carried up to the General Court of New England. It was between a large portion of a neighbouring congregation and their pastor, the Rev. Samuel Parris, in whose family the first instance of alleged infliction appeared. It is desirable to explain the precise nature of the infliction, as it was understood at the time and place, that it may be evident how easy the jugglery became, when once the popular notion of the devil was received as an article of faith.

"There are several words and expressions that are sometimes used synonymously with witch, although they are not strictly synonymous. The following, for instance: — diviner, enchanter, charmer, conjuror, necromancer, fortune-teller, augur, soothsayer, and sorcerer. None of these words convey the same idea our ancestors attached to the word witch." — "A witch was regarded by our fathers as a person who had made an actual, deliberate, and formal compact with Satan; by which compact it was agreed that she should become his faithful subject, and do what she could in promoting his cause; and, in consideration of this allegiance and service, he, on his part, agreed to exercise his supernatural powers in her favor, and communicate to her a portion of those powers. Thus a witch was considered in the light of a person who had transferred allegiance and worship from God to the devil.

"The existence of this compact was supposed to confer great additional power on the devil, as well as on his new subject; for the doctrine seems to have prevailed that for him to act with effect upon men, the intervention and instrumentality of human coöperation was necessary; and almost unlimited power was ascribed to the combined exertions of Satan and those of the human species in league with him. A witch was believed to have the power, through her compact with the devil, of afflicting, distressing, and rending whomever she would. She could cause them to pine away, and to suffer almost every description of pain and distress. She was also believed to possess the faculty of being present, in her shape or apparition, at a different place from that which her actual body occupied. Indeed, an almost indefinite amount of supernatural ability, and a great freedom and variety of methods for its exercise were supposed to result from the diabolical compact. Those, upon whom she thus exercised her malignant and mysterious energies, were said to be bewitched." —(p. 17 – 19.)

Such was witchcraft, in the apprehension, not only of the ignorant populace of Salem, but of philosophers and learned

men, and makers and administrators of the laws of our own country; — of Sir Thomas Browne, and Blackstone, and Sir Matthew Hale, and a host of others.

In February, 1692, two children in the family of Mr. Parris, above-mentioned, and a young companion, began to behave very strangely; and in order to find a cause for their odd looks and gestures, physicians were called in, one of whom gave it as his opinion that the patients were bewitched. The malady spread, of course; and the reverend gentleman invited the neighbouring ministers to assemble at his house, for the purpose of praying throughout the day for deliverance from the great enemy of souls. It was some time before the children could be brought to throw any light on the origin of their complaints; but when the public attention was fully fixed on them, and the general mind prepared to receive as gospel whatever they might say, they began to "cry out upon" one individual after another; the first being an Indian woman attached to Mr. Parris's family. This poor creature was wrought upon by threats, delusions, and (as she long afterwards protested) by the scourge, applied by Mr. Parris's own dignified hands, to confess she was in league with the devil. A confession, — indisputable evidence as it appeared, — was all that was wanted to decide the success of the experiment. Few doubted against such proof; and of those few, some concealed their scepticism, and kept as quiet as possible, and others, probably, secured their own safety by pretending to be bewitched, and thus aided the delusion. This sort of evidence abounded in proportion to the spread of the mischief; for the lives of those who confessed were spared. Fifty-five persons thus escaped death. In their case the motive to confession is clear; but it was long a mystery to us in instances where confession was the highway to the stake or the gibbet, as in England and Scotland. The

affecting anecdote told by Sir George Mackenzie, however, makes all plain. One of these confessors told him, "under secresie," that "she had not confessed because she was guilty, but, being a poor creature who wrought for her meat, and being defamed for a witch, she knew she would starve; for no person thereafter would either give her meat or lodging, and that all men would beat her and hound dogs at her, and that therefore she desired to be out of the world." — She had heard of a place where the wicked cease from troubling.

If further testimony were needed as to the worthlessness of confessions, it might be found in the volume before us, in the recantations of Margaret Jacobs (p. 60), and of six respectable females, belonging to Andover, who affixed their names to an explanation of their delusions (p. 66). We wish we had space for them here, for they are extremely interesting, from the character of simplicity which they bear. The number of martyrs was, as might be expected, smaller than of those who escaped by confession. Twenty fell by the executioner; and among them were some spirits as heroic as any who ever perished through the atrocity of superstition.

We have been at a loss to select one from the many interesting cases related; and have fixed upon that of Burroughs, because it affords a complete illustration of the modes of proceeding in all similar instances. We cannot, however, help referring to the story and petition of Mary Easty, as one of extraordinary interest. The Rev. George Burroughs was a man of education, having won a share of the honors of Harvard University in 1670. He had preached as a candidate in the same village where Mr. Parris was afterwards pastor, and had received an invitation to settle in that place. While there, he had been brought into collision with some of the inhabitants, and there are strong

indications of personal malice in all the proceedings against him. That this was the opinion at the time and place, in this and other instances, is plain, from the fact that Mr. Parris's conduct was viewed with such abhorrence by some of his people, that no mediation of other churches, and no contrite acknowledgment on his own part availed to retain his office. He removed from the place when the delusion was past. The usual accusations were brought against Mr. Burroughs. The bewitched complained of being pinched, bitten, crushed, thrown into fits, and so forth, and the chief of these witnesses was Margaret Jacobs, the girl we mentioned above, as having afterwards recanted, and who visited the victim the day before his execution, to acknowledge her guilt and beseech his forgiveness. He freely forgave her, and prayed with her and for her. He was tried before the chief-justice, Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, who appears to have been as ferocious in his injustice as any iniquitous judge upon record. The court being obliged to wait till the accusers had recovered from the fits which regularly seized them at the sight of a prisoner, the judge asked Mr. B. "who he thought hindered these witnesses from giving their testimonies?" And he answered "he supposed it was the devil." That honorable person replied, "How comes the devil then to be so loath to have any testimony borne against you?" which cast the prisoner into great confusion. So Dr. Cotton Mather relates, with great apparent glee; adding to the report of the trial which he was requested to prepare, some observations of his own on the righteousness of God in ensnaring Mr. Burroughs, by permitting him, a puny man as he was, to betray himself by formerly exhibiting feats of supernatural strength, such as stretching forth with the forefinger of the right hand a fowling-piece which strong men could not lift up and hold without both hands, &c. Mr. B. was con-

demned, of course, and conveyed to execution in a cart with other convicts. The rest we quote —

"When Mr. Burroughs was on the ladder, he made a speech for the clearing of his innocency, with such solemn and serious expressions as were to the admiration of all present; his prayer was so well worded, and uttered with such composedness and such fervency of spirit, as was very affecting, and drew tears from many, so that it seemed to some that the spectators would hinder the execution. To meet and turn back this state of feeling, the accusers cried out that they saw the evil being standing behind him in the shape of a black man, and dictating every word he uttered. And the famous Cotton Mather rode round in the crowd on horseback, haranguing the people, saying that it was not to be wondered at that Mr. B. appeared so well, for that the devil often transformed himself into an angel of light! This artful declamation, together with the outcries and assertions of the accusers, had the intended effect upon the fanatical multitude. When the body was cut down, it was dragged by the rope to a hollow place, excavated between the rocks, stripped of its garments, and then covered with clothes that had belonged to some poor wretch previously executed, thrown with two others into the hole, trampled down by the mob, and finally left partly uncovered." — pp. 102 - 104.

Our narrative will exhibit enough of the nature and character of these diabolical proceedings. It now remains to show on which side the devil enlisted, by pointing out which of the parties had in fact entered into a compact with him. It was a physician who first pronounced the word "witchcraft" on this occasion; the judges and officers of the law threw their whole authority into the scale of superstition; but it was with the clergy that the affair began; they kept it up till the last moment, and in many instances attempted a revival the next season. On account of their supposed connexion with the spiritual world, the affair seemed to lie within their province. They were consulted by the govern-

ment as to the measures to be adopted, and they returned an earnest recommendation to proceed in the good work of enforcing the alternative of perjury or hanging. Their estimate of the result (given previously to their own disgrace) may throw some light on the motives which impelled them to such means of bringing it about. "In the whole," says Mather, "the devil got just nothing, but God got praises, Christ got subjects, the holy spirit got temples, the church got additions, and the souls of men got everlasting benefits." Perhaps he altered his opinion when, in consequence of this affair, he was made the object of ridicule and insult, and his clerical brethren became subject to a reproach which has impaired the influence of their successors nearly as much as their own. Instead of having the reputation of keeping Satan in chains by their piety, they very soon came to be regarded as his agents; and not all their voluntary humiliation when it was too late to try any other means, restored them to their former authority. We will just sketch the history of two or three of them; for it is seldom that so complete and instructive a lesson of retribution is displayed in cases of this kind of iniquity.

Mr. Parris, we have seen, was compelled by the abhorrence of his people to resign his situation, and depart whither he might. The records of the time preserve the declaration of the Indian woman who first confessed, that she was whipped and terrified into that confession; and the no less important acknowledgment of sorrow and repentance on the part of one of the children under his influence, who made the very first accusation. It appears from the nature of the acknowledgment of the woman, that the child was under the influence of delusion. Alas! for him who deluded her!

Mr. Noyes, at that time junior pastor of the first church in Salem, was "one of the most distinguished ministers of the age," and was esteemed by the university and people of

New England as "a principal part of their glory." This gentleman busied himself much in the delusion, one of his practices being to remain on the ground whenever there was an execution for witchcraft, for the purpose of quenching any sympathy which might be kindled by the words or the demeanour of the sufferers. When Mary Easty, one of the most enlightened and heroic of the martyrs, (as may be seen from her petition in favor of truth, — not of herself, — and from the character of her last interview with her husband and children,) was hanging with seven others, Mr. Noyes turned towards the bodies and exclaimed, — (bless him for his compassion!) — "What a sad thing it is to see eight firebrands of hell hanging there!" When Mr. Proctor, a man of excellent character, was on the eve of execution, he requested Mr. Noyes to pray with him. One would have thought this the least that could be done for a man in such circumstances, especially as his spirit was weighed down with grief for his eleven children who had been stripped of every thing, even to the food which was preparing for their dinner: but Mr. Noyes refused to pray for the convict unless he would confess himself guilty!

A member of this gentleman's congregation was convicted and sentenced under circumstances of the grossest injustice. The jury acquitted her at first, but were threatened by the judge and by a committee of gentlemen, who had determined to let no witch escape, till they reversed their verdict. On the communion-day which preceded her execution, Mr. Noyes moved a sentence of excommunication against her, had her brought in chains into the meeting-house, and there, in the presence of a vast assemblage, proclaimed her expulsion from the church, pronounced upon her a sentence of eternal death, formally delivered her over to Satan, and consigned her to the flames of hell. The tables were turned in time to give the persecutor an opportunity of redeeming his char-

acter, and we hope his peace of mind, by awakening him to a sense of his awful guilt. The church reversed the sentence upon the innocent woman, and erased the censure which was recorded in "an hour of darkness and temptation," imploring forgiveness of God for its cruelty. The jury published a humble acknowledgment of their guilt; and Mr. Noyes made the best reparation in his power. "He came out and publicly confessed his error; never concealed a circumstance, never excused himself; visited, loved, blessed the survivors whom he had injured; asked forgiveness always, and consecrated the residue of his life to bless mankind." Since no power in earth or heaven could undo the mischief that had been done, the best thing that could happen was that Mr. Noyes should declare with his own lips that, while he had been devising his own methods of doing God service, he had been still in the bond of iniquity. He had, by his own confession, been a wolf in sheep's clothing. Let not the lesson be lost.

Dr. Cotton Mather was a man of great learning and talents, but prone, in a remarkable degree, to all the vices which beset the priestly vocation. He was fanatical and deeply cunning; vain and credulous, with a great outward show of humility; inordinately ambitious of temporal power, while ostentatious of his disinterested piety. He was exactly the man to be the soul of such a conspiracy as this. He aspired to be the most renowned champion against the devil, and seized upon every opportunity of provoking his black adversary to combat. Four years before the delusion at Salem, he had taken a child into his house to exorcise her, and made the tale of her possession and his own power over her as public as possible; thus perhaps giving the hint of the subsequent tragedy to Mr. Parris. There is no possibility of supposing fanaticism and credulity his worst faults. It is too clear that, while he

endeavoured to rid himself of the disgrace of having encouraged the delusion in Salem, he was actually trying to get up a similar scene in his own parish in Boston, keeping his influence out of sight as long as possible. While fostering the spirit of superstition in his people to the utmost, he protested against the Salem proceedings just so far as to lull suspicion, and prepare for a favorable moment for renewing the tragedy. We refer to himself — — to his acts compared, and to his writings collated, with each other — for a justification of our charges. Here we can only make room for a passage or two relating to the delusion in Salem. We take them to be extracts from the spurious gospel by which the free-masonry of the priesthood is chartered. Many as the lodges are, we believe they each hold a true copy.

"I know a man in the world, who has thought he has been able to convict some such witches as ought to die; but his respect unto the public peace has caused him rather to try whether he could not renew them by repentance."

This is addressed to such as disapproved the prosecutions. To the other party he writes to carry on the proceedings "speedily and vigorously." And afterwards —

"And why, after all my unwearied cares and pains to rescue the miserable from the lions and bears of hell which had seized them, and after all my studies to disappoint the devils in their designs to confound my neighbourhood, must I be driven to the necessity of an apology? Truly the hard representations wherewith some ill men have reviled my conduct, and the countenance which other men have given to these representations, oblige me to give mankind some account of my behaviour. No Christian can (I say none but evil workers can) criminate my visiting such of my poor flock as have at any time fallen under the terrible and sensible molestations of evil angels: let their afflictions have been what they will, I could not have answered it to my glorious

Lord if I had withheld my just comforts and counsels from them; and if I have also, with some exactness, observed the methods of the invisible world when they have become observable, I have been but a servant of mankind in doing so. Yea, no less a person than the venerable Baxter has more than once or twice, in the most public manner, invited mankind to thank me for that service.

"Wherefore, instead of all apish shouts and jeers at histories which have such undoubted confirmation, as that no man that has breeding enough to regard the common laws of human society will offer to doubt of them, — it becomes us rather to adore the goodness of God, who does not permit such things every day to befall us all, as he sometimes did permit to befall some few of our miserable neighbours. And it is a very glorious thing that I have now to mention. The devils have, with most horrid operations, broke in upon our neighbourhood, and God has at such a rate overruled all the fury and malice of those devils, that all the afflicted have not only been delivered, but I hope also savingly brought home unto God, and the reputation of no good person in the world has been damaged; but instead thereof, the souls of many, especially of the rising generation, have been thereby awakened unto some acquaintance with religion; our young people, who belonged unto the praying meetings of both sexes, apart, would ordinarily spend whole nights, by whole weeks together, in prayers and psalms upon these occasions, in which devotions the devils could get nothing, but, like fools, a scourge for their own backs; and some scores of other young people, who were strangers to real piety, were now struck with the lively demonstrations of hell evidently set before their eyes, &c. &c." * * * * "I am not so vain as to say that any wisdom or virtue of mine did contribute to this good order of things; but I am so just as to say, I did not hinder this good." — pp. 110 - 113.

The days of witchcraft are past; but not the day of the devil, or of his pretended adversaries. We still hear of nocturnal prayer-meetings, of wrestlings with the evil Spirit,

of miraculous gifts, of instantaneous conversions, of death-bed conflicts, of social revivals. In all these afterpieces of the Salem tragedy, we find the same performers as there enacted such fearful parts. We still find the devil the bug-bear, and the clergy the managers. We still find that the ignorant are cajoled, and that orthodoxy is propped up by the false supports of superstition. We still see those who claim the privileges of the priesthood exhibiting the anti-Christian attributes of a priesthood.

It is true that all these features are modified; it is true that the times are so far ameliorated that the plague of superstition cannot ravage society as formerly. But society is not yet safe. It will not be safe till every man ascertains and applies his Christianity for himself, and no longer needs to flee to his pastor for defence against the devil and all his works. What we have to do is to expose indefatigably the machinery of spiritual delusion; to frown upon all spiritual monopoly; to reveal to the ignorant their own rights, and to protect their claim; and to make the meanest of them as capable as the fishermen of Galilee of testifying to the grace, and glorying in the freedom of the gospel.

END OF VOL. II.

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